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THREE LETTERS

TO THE

EDITOR OF THE GUARDIAN:

WITH

A PRELIMINARY PAPER

ON THE EXTRAVAGANCE OF CERTAIN ALLEGATIONS WHICH IMPLY
SOME SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE ANGLICAN ESTABLISHMENT
AND SOME BRANCH, EXISTING AT SOME PERIOD,
OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

And a Preface,

INCLUDING SOME CRITICISM OF PROFESSOR HUSSEY'S LECTURES ON
THE RISE OF THE PAPAL POWER.

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CONTENTS.

PREFACE.

- I. ONE WORD ON THE EXISTING CONSTITUTION OF THE ANGLICAN ESTABLISHMENT.
- II. A LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE GUARDIAN, BY THE AUTHOR OF "ONE WORD," &c.
- III. THE ANGLICAN ESTABLISHMENT CONTRASTED, IN EVERY PRINCIPLE OF ITS CONSTITUTION, WITH THE CHURCH CATHOLIC OF EVERY AGE; BEING A SECOND LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE GUARDIAN.
- IV. HERESY AND IMMORALITY CONSIDERED IN THEIR RESPECTIVE BEARING ON THE NOTES OF THE CHURCH; BEING A FINAL LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE GUARDIAN.



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PREFACE.

AN account of the circumstances which originated the following Letters, will be found in the Preface to the *Second Letter*. They labour under the defect, so common and so almost unavoidable in productions elicited by the pressure of argument with one particular opponent, a great irregularity in the way of order and arrangement. The *Guardian*, however, having terminated the controversy, on the very reasonable plea of its unsuitableness to the pages of a newspaper, it seemed better to collect them into one volume: and the object of this Preface is, first, to remedy, as best I may be able, the inconveniences flowing from the above-mentioned defect; and then to develop one particular argument, stated in the Letters, at greater length than the exigencies of the *Guardian* controversy required.

The most methodically arranged portions of my argument, will be found in the sixth section of the *Second Letter*, and the earlier part of the *Final Letter*. These pieces of reasoning enjoy also this further advantage, that, in order to their cogency, the admission of no premiss is required, beyond that of the general authenticity and genuineness, on the one hand of the books of the New Testament, on the other hand of the principal works ascribed to the Fathers of the Church.

In the first-named of these two portions (*Second Letter*, pp. 57-83) the "Rule of Faith" is discussed. On this subject there are "two opposite forms of misbelief which exist among earnest and pious minds in England at this moment." The one is that of ordinary Protestants, who consider that the Sacred Writings were put into our hands, in order that each individual might draw from their study his own faith. And this general line of opinion again consists of two divisions, which (though in the

case of some individuals they more or less run up into each other, and though they are often confounded together), yet in themselves differ from each other most essentially, and correspond to widely different types of ethical character; accordingly, that is, as the means for ascertaining the sense of Scripture is supposed to be, on the one hand almost exclusively prayer for the (by hypothesis) promised aid of the Holy Spirit, or on the other hand, principally, the application of study and critical exegesis. Meanwhile the opposite form of misbelief, just now alluded to, while it agrees with the Catholic Doctrine in denouncing the above notion in either of its shapes, maintains a position no less fundamentally antagonistic to Divine Truth; viz. that some sacred form of words or ideas has been explicitly handed down from the Apostles, in such sense as that each Christian is enabled to recognise it for himself without the authority of a living infallible Church, and is bound to accept it, without increase or diminution, as precisely containing the essentials and fundamentals of true doctrine.

I have endeavoured then, in the above-named section, to shew, in reply to both of these most false principles, first, that it may well be doubted whether it was even *possible* (except by direct miracle) that supernatural truth could really have been conveyed in *either* of these ways, to persons circumstanced as were the early converts (pp. 58-63); and, 2dly that, whether such a course were *possible* or not, at least that the fact was plainly and indubitably otherwise. (See particularly the pages from p. 63 to p. 65.) I have pointed out, that the organisation of the Apostolic Church, and the Rule of Faith there given, were directly and most undeniably inconsistent with these principles; that the Apostolic Church was, beyond possible question, no temporary institution, but on the contrary intended to be commensurate in its duration with Christianity itself; and that, from that very day to the present, there has always been one, and never more than one, organised Society, precisely corresponding to the picture presented in Scripture of this Apostolic Church (pp. 72, 3). I have drawn attention to the circumstance, that the very quotations, called "Records of the Church," which appeared in the first volume of the *Tracts for the Times*, on the Rule of Faith,

are in direct contradiction to the thesis which it was attempted to found on them (pp. 69-71); for "I *confidently affirm* that there is no *hint* there to be found of any independent or historical way of arriving at a real knowledge of the Apostolic Traditions; no other way than that of listening to the voice of the existing Churches." And I have devoted a note (p. 76) to an exposure of the monstrous fallacy, which would represent St. Vincentius's well-known treatise, as affording the slightest countenance to the "Anglican High-Church" hypothesis. Finally, I have maintained (giving reasons for my opinion) that the condition of those who have given up allegiance to an infallible Church is, in all essential particulars, so far as religious knowledge is concerned, analogous to that of heathens before the Gospel was given (pp. 76-79). This latter consideration is again enforced in the *Final Letter* (pp. 48-50).

The first section of the *Final Letter* (pp. 1-13) is more closely connected with the original starting-point of the controversy; for my first little brochure was entirely directed to the exposure of that one unspeakably empty and foolish defence, which certain Anglicans had at that time been taking up, under the pressure of the Gorham case. They had been attempting to meet our comments on the abject slavery to the State, under which their Establishment groaned, and of which that judgment was so striking an instance,—by alleging the various concessions to various civil powers which the Church in communion with Rome had at various times made. It required very few words (the wonder was that it should require any) to make clear the *toto cælo* distinction in principle between these two classes of phenomena; but during the controversy started thereon by the *Guardian*, it became gradually clear, to my extreme surprise, that various propositions, which I had looked on as theses admitted on both sides, were really questioned by my opponent. I have now learned to feel no surprise at any confusion of theological ideas however gross, or any abandonment of doctrinal principle however extreme, which may be found in that paper; but at that time I had not received the benefit of this last year's experience. It was one of these propositions, then, questioned by the *Guardian*, which the first section of the *Final Letter* was written to de-

monstrate; namely, that as it is the principle of (what we regard as) the Catholic Church now, so it has been her plain and undeviating principle from the Apostles downward, that professed heretics are *ipso facto* and *jure divino* external to her. This proposition is, I admit, absolutely fatal to all claims made in behalf of the Establishment, as being “a branch of the Church.” But yet it is so undeniably and obviously the unanimous declaration of the Christian Church in every age, that I might well be surprised at the *Guardian* demurring to it; inasmuch as the only difficulty in this part of my argument was, “out of the multitude of proof which throngs on the mind, to select the most forcible and pregnant, in order that unnecessary length might be avoided.” “Can any thing be in more preposterous opposition to the whole current of Antiquity, than the idea” prevalent in the party which the *Guardian* represents, “that a branch of the Catholic Church can possess members who are not Catholics?”

Against this attack upon the Establishment, two or three defences may be attempted. One of these is that on which the *Guardian* appears to lay its principal stress; though it is impossible for any one, who has not been called on (like myself) to peruse carefully that journal’s observations, to imagine the infinite self-contradiction in which those observations are throughout involved. The defence alluded to is, that the toleration of *evil men*, which is practised by the Church in communion with Rome at the present day, is no less fatal to a claim of Catholicity, than is that toleration of *professed heretics* which is practised by the Establishment. And a methodical reply to this defence is to be found, in the three following sections of the *Final Letter* (pp. 13-62); in which the admixture of evil men with good within the Church is considered, on the ground of Scripture, Antiquity, and reason. There is not a single argument or citation put forth by the *Guardian*, which is not considered in these sections; and on which indeed (so far as I can trust my own partial judgment), my opponent does not receive a signal and triumphant refutation.

Another defence which may be attempted by Protestant upholders of the Fathers, against the above general line of assault, is to deny that, in matter of fact, the Anglican Church *does* tole-

rate professed heresy; or at least, that it tolerates it in that very extreme and anti-Christian degree, which we Catholics ordinarily maintain. My reply to any such defence will be found in the *Second Letter* (sections 3 and 4, pp. 10-51). In the first of these sections, I remark on the entire absence from their system of any thing which they can even themselves *profess* to be security for sound teaching; and in the second, I draw attention to the practical corruptions which have *flowed* from such absence of security.

In the third section, then, of the *Second Letter*, I press on the attention of Anglicans the plain fact, that a question which they must consider as one so intimately, so unspeakably, affecting the spiritual interest of their people, as the question what doctrines they may or may not be taught by their clergy,—this question is decided for them, in the last resort, by an authority, to which they not merely can ascribe no gift of *infallibility*, but not even the most ordinary supernatural grace, or the most ordinary natural qualification, specially directed to that end;—by the civil power.

And by way of contrast to this, I began with shewing “that no branch of the Catholic Church has ever, or any where, been subject to the civil magistrate, in the sense in which the Anglican Establishment is subject to him; or in such sense as not to retain the most ample security for doctrinal orthodoxy.” Most fortunately for my purpose here, a very able and learned article in the *Christian Remembrancer* had appeared not long before, in which the writer had brought together the strongest instances against this thesis, which his great knowledge of Ecclesiastical History enabled him to discover. On no occasion has one so strong and so well-founded a confidence in one’s own cause, as when an able and well-instructed adversary has done his utmost, and one can see with one’s own eyes how nothing, or less than nothing, that utmost is. And indeed the result of this writer’s labour, was only to place in a still clearer light the fact, otherwise so transparently evident in History, that in the Catholic Church, from the first, no less a personage has been entrusted with that most momentous function, the function of determining the doctrines which we Catholics are to be taught, than he,

whom we believe to be under the pledged and most watchful superintendence of the Holy Spirit, for its due and truthful performance.

I proceed, in the following section, to contemplate *in its results* this State Supremacy over doctrine in the Establishment. I first point out the great numbers, from the very first, within that body, who have openly and deliberately professed tenets, which my opponent himself would designate as heretical; who have denied Baptismal Regeneration, *e. g.*, or who have refused to condemn the Arian, Nestorian, and Eutychian heresies. But this is not all, nor the chief; I further maintain, that the Establishment authorities admit within its pale tenets, in themselves so vitally and fundamentally contradictory to each other, as to put all distinctness of teaching, and much more all unity of belief, on the greatest no less than on the least matters of Christian doctrine, absolutely out of the question; I charge Anglicans with having altogether lost the very elementary idea, as witnessed by the Primitive Church, of true Christian sanctity; and I allege against a form of doctrine very prevalent among them, the charge that it is in "direct contradiction to the most sacred and primary principles of natural morality." For a fuller summary of this fourth section of the *Second Letter*, the reader may consult the *Final Letter* from p. 75 to p. 77.

A third defence is conceivable against this attack of ours, which is grounded on the enormous admission of heresy within the Establishment; it is conceivable that an attempt may be made to retort the charge against ourselves. And such a retort is not merely conceivable, but was even at first attempted by my opponent in the *Guardian*. I have nothing to say here on the subject, except to refer my readers to the whole of the *First Letter*; to the observations in the *Final Letter* from p. 77 to p. 79; and also to the sixth and seventh sections of the same Letter (pp. 81-94), on the detached and isolated cases of Liberius and the Sicilian monarchy. I cannot but persuade myself that candid minds, external to the Church, will be much more ready to admit, as probable, the immaculate consistency of Catholic Doctrine, with itself, with History, and with sound morality, from perceiving the astonishing slenderness at first, and the absolute

nothingness at last, of the *Guardian's* instances in objection to the same.

It is, further, not a little observable, that of these three defences, the first and third have not even the faintest *tendency* to prove any divine presence in the Establishment, but only to *disprove* such in the Catholic Church. If the Apostles professed to teach a divine Revelation;—and if it be further demonstratively established, 1st, that the only mode which they gave their contemporaries for learning the *contents* of this Revelation was the listening submissively to a Visible Church; and 2dly, that they regarded the existence of a Church justly *claiming* such submission of mind, as contemporaneous in duration with the Christian religion itself;—if this be so (and my opponent did not so much as *attempt* a reply to my reasonings which 'purported to establish this), what would be the inference from those *further* propositions which *he* maintains? Had his success been as signal as his failure *has* been (and I cannot make a stronger supposition than this,) in making probable the hypothesis, that in matter of fact there *has* been no Society in later times bearing those notes which the Apostles regarded as *essential* to the Church, I cannot see what possible inference would result, except that, on this most fundamental matter, the Apostles were in error, and that the Christian religion was not simply divine.

The same utter recklessness of argumentative method is visible, as I observe more than once in these "Letters," in the Protestant mode of treating various historical proofs, adduced by us in behalf of this or that particular in our doctrinal system. Let me take, as a special instance, the Papal Supremacy. It is really most wonderful, and bears thinking on again and again, that, in the midst of all the argument and declamation against this doctrine, which has been poured forth during the last three hundred years;—in the midst of all the denunciations against us for having falsified History and innovated on Antiquity;—to the best of my knowledge and belief, there has not been so much as one single *attempt* to state systematically, as being the belief of the Early Church, any doctrine *whatever* on the subject, differing from ours. High Church controversialists seem never to think of the question whether *they* are *right*, so engrossed are they with the task of

proving that *we* are *wrong*; they never enter into the inquiry whether Antiquity is with *them*, so anxious are they to shew that it is against *us*; insomuch that, in their eagerness to assail us, they never give a moment's thought to the question, whether their weapons, in order to wound Rome ever so slightly, must not pass through the very heart of her whom they profess to reverence as their mother.

There cannot be a better illustration of this, than the last controversial work which has appeared on that side of the question, Professor Hussey's *Lectures on the Rise of the Papal Power* (Parker, Oxford). The calmness and equableness of tone, the most charitable and forbearing spirit, the lucid order and arrangement, so conspicuous in this work, are no more, however, than would have been expected by those who have the honour of even a slight acquaintance with its excellent author. But from beginning to end of these Lectures, I cannot discover so much as the slightest attempt at any positive result. Surely the question is, not what the Fathers did *not* hold about the Church's constitution, but what they *did* hold; and whatever it is which they held, if it is to be authoritative, must be something which admits of definite and consistent statement. I shall be hardly believed by those who have not read the work (unless they are disciplined by experience in *other* Anglican works of controversy) when I say, that from first to last, I cannot find so much as a *hint* of any positive conclusion; unless, indeed, I am to except one passage in the preface (p. xv.), where the author implies that "every Church and nation" has a right to "assert its own religious independence." But if by this he means (what his argument requires) that *in matters of doctrine* the Church of one nation is, *jure divino*, independent of the rest of Christendom, I may most safely challenge him to produce one single passage from any one of the Fathers, from Apostolic times downwards, which can give so much as a colourable or *primá facie* sanction to so extraordinary a proposition.

The fifth section of the *Second Letter* (pp. 51-57) is occupied with this subject. In that section I consider, first, the ordinary response made by Anglican writers, as to the origin of Episcopal Jurisdiction, when they deny that it comes from the Holy See;

and I shew the endless self-contradictions, the unspeakable and most grotesque absurdity, which must follow, if any one (by way of novelty) were to think even for a moment of *practising* what their controversialists for these three centuries have been *professing*. I have then tried my hand, as best I could, in devising any other theory which might by possibility be advocated, as consistent at once with Antiquity and with the position of the Anglican bishops. I could only think of *one*; and I then proceed to destroy this creature of my imagination. In the fourth century of their schism it is really time these Episcopalians should try and start some *theory* on Episcopacy: let them only start it; I pledge myself beforehand very confidently to refute and overthrow it. But who can combat a shadow?

The *positive* historical argument which we derive, from this impossibility of even *devising*, as the tenet of Antiquity, any position antagonistic to our own, is stated as follows in a note at p. 20 of the *Second Letter*:

“Our controversialists allege, from Scripture and the Fathers, a large number of the most plain and unequivocal testimonies for *the indivisible unity of the Church*; testimonies admitted by Protestants themselves to be absolutely inconsistent, if taken simply and literally, with your claims to Catholicity. The common resource, in controversy, is to bring together a certain number of other facts, which seem to evince that this same principle was *not fully understood* by all in early times. Now, for such reasons as those given in the text, there is no difficulty whatever in our admitting that, in this or that instance, the right *application* of this principle was not understood; but this does not in the least shew that the *principle itself* was not held. One fair way of testing, then, how far any such fact is a real objection to our doctrine, is to see whether such fact can possibly be interpreted, as witnessing to some doctrine *different* from ours on the point in hand. Thus, on the subject above specified: the Apostles either taught that the Church is essentially one body politic; or that it is made up of so many bodies politic, each governed by its bishop; or that it is constituted in some other conceivable way. Now we Catholics maintain, (and I think quite unanswerably,) that there is no one Ecclesiastical Constitution you can name and define, except the Catholic, in favour of which you can find so much as one (I will not say distinct testimony, but one) *hint*, in Scripture or the Fathers. The argument, therefore, stands thus: either the Christian Church was ordained to be one indivisi-

ble Body Politic, or it was ordained to have some other Constitution which admits of being specified. For the first of these alternatives, a vast body of the most explicit testimony is adduced; for the second of these alternatives, in any one shape that can be named, no testimony whatever is even attempted; therefore the first of these alternatives is true. The instances, quoted in opposition, *must* arise from some incidental inability rightly to *apply* the Catholic principle, not from any *principle* adverse to the Catholic; because our opponents themselves cannot name any such principle, which they so much as *profess* to have been held by the personages whom they adduce.

In like manner, if the Christian Church be, by divine appointment, one organised body politic, there must be some *bond* or *centre* of union appointed by God. There is the strongest evidence, in Scripture and Antiquity, that the obligation of communion with the Holy See is that bond; while there is no other bond of union that can be named, for which a particle of evidence is producible. Hence, as before, it follows necessarily, that the obligation of communion with the Holy See *was* a divinely ordained principle; and that the instances brought in opposition, are referrible to slowness or mistake in *applying* that principle, not from any opposition to the principle itself."

Confining myself, then, for the present purpose, to these doctrines of the Church's Indivisible Unity and of the Roman Supremacy, the argument from History in their favour may be thus drawn out: beginning with the first-named of the two.

That the Apostolic Church was one organised Society, has been already noticed in this Preface, and reference has been made to the section in the *Second Letter*, which enforces and illustrates the fact. The Apostolic Church, I there observe, "was as truly and as fully a visible and organised Society, as England is, or Austria; differing only from such bodies politic, as being held together, not by temporal, but by spiritual sanctions." I may here add more explicitly, that it was *one* organised Society, not several; in other words, it was not made up, for instance, of twelve or thirteen organised societies, each governed by an Apostle, but it constituted *one* such Society governed by the *collective body of Apostles*. This is quite obvious on the surface of Scripture, and such scriptural facts as I mention in pp. 63 and 64 of the above-named Letter are strong instances and illustrations of it; nor have I ever heard of any one calling it in question. If any one, however, *should* dream of questioning

it, nothing more would be necessary, than to go in detail over the various historical particulars recorded in the Acts, and shew how signally and unmistakably they evince its truth. The more closely indeed any one examines the New Testament, the more impressed will he be with the amount of evidence by which this fact is attested.

1. If, then, the Apostolic Church was one organised Society, such arguments as those adduced in my *Second Letter*, pp. 64, 65, and pp. 68-71, to shew that the Apostolic polity was given to be commensurate in duration with Christianity itself, shew also, or rather shew as merely a different way of stating the same conclusion, that the post-Apostolic Church also was one organised Society; not a number of societies, each under its bishop, but *one* Society, governed (according to some mutual relations or other between them,) by the *collective body* of bishops. That *one* organised Society should be separated into *several* societies, is the very same hypothesis with that of its being dissolved altogether.

2. That such was the belief of those who lived at the very time of St. John's death, and the consequent inauguration (if I may so speak) of post-apostolic times, is made further obvious by the universal adoption of the phrase "the one Catholic Church." This phrase, as I observed in the *Final Letter* (p. 5), the Protestant Bull himself states to have been in universal use from the time of St. Polycarp; and it is difficult to imagine a phrase more precisely conveying the doctrine we advocate. The word "Ecclesia" would surely be most extraordinary for expressing an alliance of independent societies; *one* "Ecclesia" still more extraordinary; but one *Catholic* "Ecclesia" of all the most extraordinary.

The language used, in speaking of the Church, by the earlier Fathers, is altogether in accordance with this same principle; nor is there a single passage in their writings, which I have seen quoted, or am aware of, which would in the faintest degree *suggest* any other idea. St. Justin Martyr speaks of "those who believe in Him" as being "*one soul, and one synagogue, and one Church.*" (Waterworth, vol. i. p. 825.) And St. Clement of Alexandria, "The Church is *a city on earth, impregnable and free from tyranny.*" (Waterworth, vol. i. p. 205.)

But from the time of St. Cyprian, all possibility of doubt as to the current belief is altogether at an end: for he is led to speak on the subject as distinctly and emphatically as a modern Catholic could speak; and that simply in the tone of one enunciating an admitted truth. Merely as an illustration, to remind my readers of his tone, take the well-known passage:

“Part a ray of the sun from its orb, this division of light the unity allows not; break a branch from the tree, once broken, it can bud no more; cut the stream from its source, the remnant dries up. Thus the Church, flooded with the light of the Lord, &c. Does any one believe *that this unity can be rent asunder in the Church? He who holds not this unity, holds not the law of God . . . Christ’s people cannot be rent . . . There is one God, and one Christ, and the Church is one, and the faith one, and the people one, joined into the solid unity of one body by the glue of concord. Unity cannot be sundered, nor the one body be separated by the dissolution of its structure.*” (Waterworth, vol. i. pp. 145-8.)

3. The same truth also necessarily follows, from the position which I consider myself to have established in my *Second Letter*; viz. that the one way given by God for learning, in all ages, the Christian doctrine, is to hear the living infallible Church. The Church *cannot* agree in her enunciation of doctrine, unless either, on the one hand, there be a special inspiration to each independent part of it, which no one maintains; or else, on the other hand, there be *no* independent part of it, but one Supreme Government over the whole. An *organised* society can speak with one voice; because the discipline which exists therein can forbid all voices *except* one: but a *number of independent societies cannot* speak with one voice, unless a *standing miracle* be maintained, to overrule their otherwise inevitable divergency and contrariety.

4. And lastly, while there is this overwhelming amount of positive evidence in behalf of the Church’s indivisible organic Unity (to repeat my words in the above-quoted note), “there is no one ecclesiastical constitution *except* this, which you can so much as name and define, in behalf of which you can find so much as one (I will not say distinct testimony, but one) *hint* in Scripture or the Fathers.” All that Protestants can attempt in this matter is, to instance a certain number of occasions, on

which certain Fathers do or say certain things, which they would not have said or done, had they fully understood, and habitually in the hurry of practical action borne in mind, the *right application* of this universally-admitted principle. The utter nothingness of such a class of objections, is now, I trust, made sufficiently apparent.

We may regard this doctrine as now fully proved; though I could have wished Mr. Hussey had given us some means of judging, how far he himself acquiesces in it. It is one of the many particulars which evince (what I must call) the slipshod way in which he has performed his task, that I am quite unable to discover whether, in this preliminary stage of the controversy, we are to count him as a friend or as an opponent.

The second stage of our argument does, of course, bring me into direct collision with his whole work. I would desire his candid and patient attention, while I state my case.

The Christian Church, then, is, by divine appointment, One organised Body Politic. But if this be so, it must have, by divine appointment, some *bond* or *centre* of union. We Catholics consider that the *obligation of communion with the Holy See* is this divinely-appointed bond of union; and I base this doctrine, to put it briefly, on the following chain of historical demonstration.

1. That there is certain distinct evidence, in Scripture and Antiquity, in *favour* of such divinely-appointed bond of union;
2. that there must be in the Church some divinely-appointed bond of union of some sort, else she will *not* be *jure divino* an organised Society; and,
3. that there is *no* other bond of union that can be named, in behalf of which one particle of evidence, even the most faintly probable, from Scripture or Antiquity, admits of being produced. Let me make good these assertions in order, and so draw out the cumulative proof of this doctrine; in doing which I shall do little more than repeat great part of a review which I published in 1848 in the *Tablet* newspaper, and which I am not sorry of an opportunity to put on more permanent record.

Arguments indeed such as Mr. Hussey's, have literally no *primá facie* force whatever, even in the way of faint probability, except on an hypothesis concerning the meaning of what is called "*Tradition*," which no one would maintain if nakedly put before

him, but which the ordinary run of "high-Church" controversialists assume and imply in every word they utter. To read their works, one would suppose that *unwritten* Tradition meant merely Tradition *learned by heart*, and from some accident not written down. One would suppose that, instead of "the traditions which have come down to us from the Apostles as it were from hand to hand" (as the Council of Trent speaks), there were a certain series of definite doctrinal statements, in the possession of some man or body of men in the Church; a series, containing the doctrinal determinations of all the Œcumenical Councils that ever have sat or ever will sit, and ready to be produced from time to time, whenever circumstances may require. Certainly there is nothing in the world written more plainly on the very surface of History, than that the Gospel message was in fact delivered to the Church in some very different manner from this; and what that manner was, I have endeavoured to express in my *Second Letter* (pp. 61, 2).*

Seeing, then, that divines and bodies of men are led to very many of their opinions on religious subjects, by the circumstances of their education and position; by individual or national peculiarities of character; by reasons (true or false); by imagination, by conjecture, by impulse, by excitement, by simple misapprehension;—and seeing that the opinions, which they have obtained by divine Tradition, are not necessarily marked off from the former by any precise, definite, or unmistakeable boundary-mark;—it is plain to how imminent a danger of corruption Tradition would inevitably be exposed, if there were not some divinely-appointed touchstone and test of its purity. *We*, of course, hold most firmly that there *is* such a touchstone; that the solemn decisions of the Holy Father, and, by consequence, of any body of bishops acting in communion with the Holy See, are divinely overruled to distinguish true doctrine from false. And we maintain that Tradition must ever be a most untrustworthy guide for the mass of men, unless where such a touchstone is possessed. But our present question is not how the mass of Christians are to be guided, but on what principle *controversialists* are to deal with the facts

* See also, on this subject of Tradition, Father Newman's *Lectures on Catholicism in England*, pp. 306-314.

of Ecclesiastical History; what is the reasonable manner of studying that History, so as to draw from it true conclusions. And I say that such considerations as the above shew it to be in the highest degree probable, that there may have been many doctrines, handed down by the Apostles, of whose Apostolical origin no convincing proof can be directly gathered from the existing records of Antiquity. And much more do they shew, that doctrines, such as the Papal Supremacy, which *are* most clearly to be proved from these records, must be proved, nevertheless, by means of some more philosophical and reasonable process, than “high-Church” controversialists seem to dream of. It is a truly vulgar conception, to think of deciding on the Apostolicity of such a doctrine by the process of *counting heads*; of balancing against each other the number of Fathers who, by their words and acts, seem *primâ facie* to testify for or against. And it is an unspeakably more vulgar conception,—one which we are sorry to find Mr. Hussey now and then half-inclined to countenance,—which would solve the difficulties caused by their apparent discrepancies, by imputing to the successive Popes an ambitious and self-aggrandising spirit.

It is impossible here to investigate the various principles of historical interpretation, which flow from the view thus opened to us of the ancient Christian records. One canon alone is amply sufficient for our present purpose, and carries its truth and reasonableness on its face; and it is the very one laid down in the note in my *Second Letter*, which gave occasion to this discussion. “*No word or act of early Christians can be admitted as evidence of Divine Tradition, unless we can refer such word or act to some distinct principle, which we can suppose these Christians, consciously or unconsciously, to have held.*” Any words or acts which *we cannot* so refer, must, by the very necessity of the case, be referred to one or other of the causes just mentioned as tending to *obscure and corrupt* Tradition: they *cannot* be taken as testifying to any doctrine handed down from Apostolic times, because (by hypothesis) there is no doctrine that can be named, to which they can by any possibility be alleged as testifying.

This canon is immediately and undeniably applicable to the present subject, as I shall presently shew; but even if it were

not, would it even then follow that our doctrine is historically doubtful? Let us first examine *this* question.

It has been already shewn, that the first Apostolic Church was but the continuation of that organised Society, whereof the Apostles themselves were the first rulers. From this it follows, that the divinely-given *bond* or *principle* of union, of which we are in search, must have been one applicable no less to Apostolic than to subsequent times; no other hypothesis can possibly meet the requisitions of the problem. The Catholic principle (which as yet I treat merely as a hypothesis) does so far suit the necessities of the case. That St. Peter, and his successors at every period, were, *jure divino*, the centres of union of the Church, is a plain practical proposition, amply sufficient for what is required.

Moreover, this proposition has distinct evidence in its favour, both in Scripture and Antiquity. Let me first adduce the latter. Mr. Hussey indeed says boldly that, until the fourth century, "no claim was advanced beyond that of precedence among equals" (p. 1). How much of authority is implied in the idea of the "divinely-constituted centre of unity," will presently be considered; but at all events, it is something considerably more than "precedence among equals." And strangely enough (yet honourably to his character for candour and fair dealing), Mr. Hussey alludes in a note to those very cases of St. Victor and St. Stephen, which are the direct contradictories of his assertion. I observe in my *Second Letter* that "every one who considers the subject is obliged to admit, that the conduct of the early Popes *either* flowed from a consciousness of their divinely-given supremacy, *or* was meddling and intrusive. Protestants invariably accept the latter alternative." But as Mr. Hussey has made the above extraordinary assertion, I may as well cite Dr. Burton on these two cases; than whom there cannot be, on every ground, a more unsuspecting authority. He tells us, that "the character of Victor is perhaps *the least amiable* of any we have yet met with among the heads of the Church; his conduct to the Asiatic churches *cannot be defended*." Moreover, "that nothing can justify St. Stephen's intemperate warmth," and "that an idea of *pre-eminence*, as attached to the imperial city and *the See of St. Peter*, had more than *crossed the mind* of the Bishop of Rome:" adding, however,

that *in the mind of St. Cyprian* this “only applied to rank and precedence, and not to authority in matters of faith.” (*Ecc. History of Three First Ages*, vol. ii. pp. 236, 356.) I may here also add, in regard to Mr. Hussey, that he had no right to *assume* that St. Irenæus’ well-known “*potentior principalitas*” did not mean what it seems well to mean: he should at least tell us, *what* is his non-natural sense of this phrase.

On the general aspect of the Church in the three first centuries, I cannot do better than quote at starting Mr. Allies’s forcible summary:

“The Primitive Church, during nearly three centuries, in which it was exposed to continual persecution, was never assembled in a General Council. During that time it was governed by its one Episcopate, cast into the shape which it had received from the moulding hand of S. Peter himself, at the head of the Apostolic College. That Apostle, in his own lifetime, established three primatial Sees, of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch,—the mother Churches of three great patriarchates, which, as Church after Church was propagated from them, and received its Bishop, yet *retained over them a parent’s right of correction and inspection*. Of these, the two latter, the Sees of Alexandria and Antioch, were subordinate to the See of Rome, to whose Bishop their Bishops were accountable for the purity of their faith, and the due government of their Church. The records of these three first centuries have in a large degree perished; but we see standing out of them certain facts, which cannot be accounted for but by the Roman Primacy, viz. that the Bishop of Rome, and he alone, claims a control over the Churches of the whole world, threatening to sever from his communion, (and sometimes carrying that threat into execution,) such as do not maintain the purity of that faith which he is charged to watch over, and the rules of that communion which had come down from the Apostles. The well-known instances of S. Clement writing to the Church of Corinth to heal its divisions, in the very lifetime of S. John, of S. Victor censuring the Asiatic, and S. Stephen, the African Churches, and of S. Dionysius receiving an apology for his faith from his namesake, the Bishop of Alexandria, are sufficient proofs of this. The force of the fact lies in this, *that the Bishop of Rome, and he alone, claims, as need may arise, a control over all; but no one claims a control over him.*”

It is not to the purpose to reply upon this, that these instances are not *demonstrative*: neither Mr. Allies nor myself ever said they were. I say that they are evidence of an idea, in the mind of *certain* Popes and *certain* other Christians, that the successors

of St. Peter are those especially charged with preserving the unity of the Church. Whether there were *other* Fathers who held some *different* idea as to the bond of ecclesiastical unity, is a question which we are presently to consider. At all events, that the Church in those ages of persecution had very little opportunity for corporate action *at all*, must be admitted by every one; and this universally admitted fact, leads of itself, by necessary consequence, to the further fact, that a definite and explicit consideration of this question as to the divinely-appointed centre of union, and a definite marking out of the prerogatives flowing from it, would be postponed, until the period when these questions should become practically important; in other words, until this corporate action of the Church should have the opportunity of fully commencing.

For the *details* of ante-Nicene testimonies on this head, I know no work in every respect more admirable and more suited for reference, than a little treatise published in the year 1848 by Mr. Sconce, a recent Oxford convert.* This writer goes in detail through the various Fathers, and puts together those various testimonies of theirs, which so remarkably converge on one particular doctrine. In his Introduction he draws attention to the circumstance, "that after St. Ignatius Martyr (and even *he hints* at the pre-eminence of Rome), *every single Father who speaks of bishops at all, speaks of the primacy of the Bishop of Rome.* Those who are silent upon one subject are silent upon the other; and there are obvious reasons for their silence."

I wish it were possible to transfer bodily into this Preface all that part of Mr. Sconce's work, which is occupied with ante-Nicene times. I will put down one or two instances as specimens; begging all my readers who really care to know *what* Catholics adduce, to have recourse to the treatise itself.

1. St. Clement of Rome (A.D. 65) is appealed to by the Corinthians in their troubles, and in return to their appeal sends *Legates* to set matters right; and this, while the Apostle St. John is still alive. 2. St. Ignatius Martyr speaks of the Roman

* *The Testimony of Antiquity to the Supremacy of the Holy See*, by R. K. Sconce, B.A., Oxon. This treatise, published in *Sydney*, is always on sale with Messrs. Burns and Lambert.

Church, and of that alone, as that which *presides*. 3. St. Polycarp, it is said by Eusebius, “in the time of Anicetus’s episcopate, *came to Rome* and *conferred* with him, upon a question that had been started in the Church concerning the observation of Easter.” 4. Marcian (A.D. 120), excommunicated by the Church of Pontus, immediately on his excommunication betakes himself to the Bishop of Rome to procure his restoration. When he arrived, Pope Hyginus was just dead; but the Presbyters of the See rejected him. 5. St. Dionysius of Corinth (A.D. 168) tells Pope Soter, “This practice has prevailed *with you* from the *very beginning*, to do good to *all the brethren* in every way, and to send alms to many churches *in every city*.” Again, “To-day we have passed the Lord’s holy day, *in which we have read your* (the Pope’s) *Epistle*; in reading which we shall always have our minds *stored with admonition*, as we shall also from that *written to us before by Clement*.” 6. We now come to a well-known and very explicit testimony,—that of St. Irenæus: “Ad hanc [Romanam] Ecclesiam, propter *potentio-rem principalitatem*, necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est omnes qui undique sunt fideles: *in quâ* semper, ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ ab Apostolis est traditio.” Mr. Sconce has a long and eminently candid and luminous comment on this passage.

To proceed: 7. King Lucius (A.D. 180) sends messages to Pope St. Eleutherius, begging him to send duly qualified and authorised persons to instruct the Britons in Christianity, and administer to them the divine mysteries: and this, though the great St. Irenæus was so very much nearer; nay, the messengers would probably pass through Lyons on their way to Rome. 8. St. Victor threatens to excommunicate the Asiatics; yet is called by all Antiquity (which differs in that respect from Dr. Burton,) a “thrice-blessed Saint and Martyr.” Moreover, the Protestant Grotius expressly says that “Irenæus, when he admonishes Victor concerning a right use of his power, by that very fact recognises his authority over the Churches in Asia.” 9. Praxeas (A.D. 201), in the words of Tertullian, “prevailed on the then Bishop of Rome to recall the letters of peace already sent out, and to cease from his intention of accepting offerings.”

10. Tertullian, when a Catholic, says that St. Peter was the

rock on which the Church was built; that the Lord left His keys to the Church "*through Peter*;" that "into the Roman Church the Apostles poured out, together with their blood, *their whole doctrine*;" that with "our neighbours the Romans both Peter and Paul left the Gospel, sealed too with their blood." As a heretic, he bears witness to the prominent position held by the Pope in that Church which was opposing him, by calling the Roman Bishop, in irony and derision, "the Supreme Pontiff," "the Bishop of Bishops," "Apostolicus," "the Most Blessed Pope;" and by speaking of a "peremptory edict" having been "issued" by him, and "read in the Church." Excellent are Mr. Sconce's comments on Tertullian.

11. Origen says :

"*On Peter as on the earth the Church was founded.*" Peter is "*the great foundation of the Church and the solid rock on which Christ built His Church.*" "*To Peter the supremacy in feeding the sheep was given, and on him as on a rock the Church was built.*" "St. Peter is reckoned first in the number of the twelve, obviously *as being more honoured than the rest.*" "Since it was ordered that Peter should have an especial office, distinctly and *previously it was said to Peter, 'I will give thee the keys, &c.'* before it was said to the rest, 'Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, &c.' If, too, we examine the Evangelical Scriptures carefully, we shall find in them, that even in cases where Peter's power *seems to be shared* by those who are commissioned to exercise discipline over their brethren, *there is a great difference and pre-eminence* evident in what is said to Peter above the others who were *second to him.*"

12. St. Hippolytus (A.D. 230) says, "*Peter uttered these words,*" &c., and thus "*the rock of the Church was consolidated.*"

13. St. Cyprian, who is so very voluminous and energetic in behalf of the Church's indivisible Unity, is hardly less so in his enunciation of what he regards as the divinely-given *principle* of such Unity. Thus, "Our Lord built His Church upon Peter, being one; and though He gave to all the Apostles an equal power, yet, *in order to manifest Unity*, He has, by His own authority, so placed *the source of the same Unity* as to begin with one." "To manifest Unity,' as need not be proved, means here 'to *preserve manifest, i. e. visible Unity*;' and 'the source of the same unity,' in St. Cyprian's judgment, is the Holy See. In like manner,

“there is one Church founded by our Lord upon Peter, with a source and means of Unity.” “God is one and Christ one, and the Church one, and *the chair one*, founded upon Peter by the voice of the Lord . . . Whoever gathers elsewhere scatters.” “Peter, on whom He built the Church, and *from whom He instituted* and proclaimed *the source of Unity*.” “The chair of Peter, and the principal Church, *whence hath issued the Unity of the priesthood*.” Speaking of the Roman See and Church of *his own* day: “The place of Peter and the *rank of the Sacerdotal Chair* was vacant” at such a time; *i. e.* the Holy See was vacant. The Roman Church is “the *root and womb* of the Catholic Church.” To Pope St. Cornelius he says, “Letters were sent generally to all the dioceses, that every one of our colleagues might steadfastly approve and hold to *your communion*; that is, to the *Unity and Charity of the Catholic Church*.” To Pope St. Stephen: “Give us clearly to understand who has been substituted in Marcian’s stead at Arles, that we may know *with whom to direct our brethren to communicate*.” To the same on some *African* affairs: “*To you in the very first place* it was our duty to write on this subject.”

14. The Roman Presbyters, *sede vacante*, to St. Cyprian: “It is incumbent upon *us who seem to be set in the chief place*, and in the absence of *the Shepherd*, to have the charge of *the flock*.” One would quite fancy they were the Cardinals of the 19th century who were speaking. Again:

“The whole (Roman) Church salutes you, which also with the utmost solicitude *watches for all who call upon the name of the Lord*.” Again, “It is no wonder that you, . . . brother Cyprian, . . . be willing that we should rather have a hand in, than be *mere judges* of your measures.” “As for the matter of” a certain African Bishop, “you acted like yourself in giving us information of a subject which we are anxious about; for it is *the duty of us all* to be *watchful for the body of the whole Church*, whose members are scattered through the various provinces.”

15. The Emperor Aurelius leaves the decision, as to whether Paul Samosatene is or is not Bishop of Antioch, to “the Bishops of Italy and Rome.”

In regard to some few of the above quotations, it is to be observed, that since we have already proved that the later Chris-

tian Church is a continuation of the Apostolic, those Fathers who declared that the Apostolic Church was built upon Peter, must by absolute necessity further imply, that the later Church is built upon Peter also; *i. e.* upon ‘Peter living in his successors,’ to use the ecclesiastical phrase.

I consider that all these quotations, fairly considered, prove a very great deal more indeed than they are here *adduced* to prove. They are adduced to prove, that certain Christians in the three first centuries regarded the Roman Bishops as having a position, quite special and distinct from other Bishops, in keeping together that organised Society called the Church: that whereas the Church is one *edifice*, built up by God Himself, certain Christians considered St. Peter, in himself and in his successors, to be *the rock* whereon that one edifice was *built*; that whereas the Church is by divine appointment indivisibly *One*, communion with the See of Peter was the divinely-appointed *instrument and means* of such Unity.

For the later centuries, it is hardly necessary to consult any compiler of facts beyond Mr. Hussey himself. I am quite unable indeed to admit, that he gives a *fair* view of the period on which he treats; though to imagine any *intentional* unfairness would be preposterous. Still the facts quoted by him are very amply sufficient; and we may note it, I suppose, as one post at length surrendered to the forces of truth, that he admits the Supremacy to have been claimed by the Holy See from the fourth century downwards. Those very ages of purity then, it is at last conceded, to which the four great Œcumenical Councils belong;—which are the very period specially contemplated by the Anglican Prayer-book under the name of Antiquity;—in which lived all those great Fathers who are quoted with every epithet of honour by the Anglican homilies;—these were ages in which the evil weed of Papal Supremacy had already reached a rank luxuriance!

Mr. Hussey would seem to have arrived at a very definite conclusion, as to the exact date of undue Papal pretensions; and to have placed their first exhibition precisely between Pope St. Julius (A.D. 342) and Pope St. Damasus (A.D. 366). For he says (p. 7), that the former Pope “knew of no right, divine or human,

belonging to the Pope, of supreme jurisdiction over the rest of the Church; but only *the custom of precedence and priority of place.*" Whereas, in St. Damasus's time, the Roman Church "put forth arrogant pretensions," and "a claim of authority" (p. 18); and "Paulinus's party" are represented, on St. Basil's authority, as having "brought letters from the West *as if they were a warrant from some sovereign power;*" and as being "proud of such documents;" and St. Damasus himself, on the same authority, as "a high and mighty personage seated aloft somewhere, who for that reason could not bear to hear those who from below spoke the truth to him" (pp. 19, 20). Moreover, St. Jerome tells the same St. Damasus, "While I follow no chief but Christ, I am joined in communion with thy beatitude, that is, the seat of Peter. *On that rock I know the Church is built.*" It were to have been wished that Mr. Hussey had gone on with this quotation, which would have made still clearer St. Jerome's meaning: "Whosoever shall eat the Lamb outside that house is profane; if a man be out in the ark of Noe he shall perish; . . . whosoever gathers not *with thee* scattereth . . . I implore you, if it be your pleasure, *issue your decree.*" And it were also to have been wished that Mr. Hussey had inserted the passage which immediately *precedes* his quotation: "Though *your greatness awes me,* your kindness encourages me to approach to you. From *the priest* I ask the sacrifice of salvation, from *the pastor* the cure of the sheep." In this connexion I may refer also to a quotation in my *Second Letter* (p. 15), also cited by Mr. Hussey (p. 16) from the law (A.D. 380) of Gratian and Theodosius, giving, as the very test of orthodoxy, the agreement with St. Peter's Tradition, as preserved in Rome, and witnessed by Damasus.

Further, "the Archbishop of Aragon addressed a letter to St. Damasus, asking for directions, &c. This letter reached Rome after Siricius was Pope (A.D. 384), and he answered it in a *style of authority,* intermixing some *reproofs.* His answers would stand as *decrees* upon the several points submitted to his judgment; indeed he speaks of the *Decreta* of his predecessor Liberius: and thus the Papal decretals grew up" (Hussey, pp. 25, 26). That from this time forward, then, the Popes invariably claimed Supremacy over the Church, is Mr. Hussey's distinct

admission; and his subsequent pages contain innumerable instances of the fact.

But as he says that Pope St. Julius knew of *no* such Supremacy (p. 7), we may as well turn to Mr. Sconce's pages for *his* sentiments. Pope St. Julius, then, is quoted by St. Athanasius as writing what follows:

“Why was nothing said to us *of the Church of Alexandria* in particular? Are you ignorant that *the custom has been* for word to be written *first* to us, and then for a just sentence to be passed *from this place*? If, then, any suspicion rested on the Bishops there, *notice thereof ought to have been sent to the Church of this place*; whereas, after neglecting to inform us, and proceeding *on their own authority* as they pleased, now they desire to obtain our concurrence in their decisions . . . not so have the constitutions of Paul, not so have the traditions of the Fathers, directed: this is another form of procedure, *a novel practice* . . . What we have *received from the blessed Apostle St. Peter*, that I signify to you; and I should not have written this, *as deeming that these things were manifest to all men*, had not these proceedings so disturbed us.”

Such are the words of the Pope, whom Mr. Hussey regards as having known of no right of Supreme Jurisdiction over the rest of the Church! And this same St. Julius is addressed by the Western Bishops assembled at Sardica in a fully corresponding strain: “This will appear best and most highly fitting, if the Bishops *out of every province* make reference to *the head*, that is, the See of Peter.” It may also be worth while, as Mr. Hussey quotes St. Basil's strong expressions against St. Damasus, and as he is therefore the most unsuspecting of authorities, to see, from Mr. Sconce's work, what was *his* belief on this doctrinal question.

“Blessed Peter *set over all the disciples*,” &c. “*received upon himself* the fabric of the Church;” and to St. Damasus himself:

“Nearly the whole East . . . labours under a heavy storm and surge. We have been expecting a visitation from your tender compassion, as the one remedy of these evils. Your extraordinary love has in time past ever charmed our souls . . . *Send persons* like-minded with us either *to reconcile the parties at variance and bring the Churches of God to unity*, or at least to give you a clearer understanding of the authors of confusion, so that you may be sure in future with whom it is fitting to hold communion. *We are in no wise asking any thing new* . . . for we know

by tradition . . . that *Dionysius, that most blessed Bishop* [of Rome], sent *letters of visitation to our Church at Cæsarea, &c.*

It seemed fit to us to write to the Bishop of Rome, to beg that he would visit our affairs and *interpose a decree of his judgment*, that . . . he may himself *give authority to chosen men* . . . to bring with them *the acts of the Council of Ariminum* and *modify them where they seem to be harsh.*

Eustathius . . . on being deposed (from his bishopric), took measures to effect his restoration . . . We are not aware of what passed between him and *the Bishop of Rome*, or *to what terms they came.* All we know is, that he brought a letter, *on production of which* to the Council of Thyana *he was restored to his See."*

I cannot fancy that the most prejudiced of our opponents could look through the testimonies collected in Mr. Sconce's work, without being greatly surprised and startled at their number and strength. But the only proposition which my argument calls on me to put forth, is an extremely safe one; viz. that as in ante-Nicene, so in post-Nicene times, there were certain Christians, who considered that the Holy See was the divinely-appointed means for preserving that Unity of organisation, which, by divine appointment, was an essential characteristic of the Church.

Further, there are certain passages of Scripture which (to speak greatly within bounds) obtain an incomparably deeper and more natural meaning, if we suppose them to imply the same doctrine, than by any other interpretation which has ever been suggested. I may refer to Mr. Allies' work on the *See of St. Peter* (pp. 13-35) for an admirable summary of these testimonies; but if any one wishes to know how much *may* be most fairly and directly deduced from holy Scripture on this head, let him consult Father Passaglia's work *De Prærogativis Beati Petri* (1850, sold in London by Nutt). Let no one imagine he has done justice to this controversy, without perusing this most admirable volume.

We have now arrived, then, at two conclusions. The first is, that the Christian Church was founded at Pentecost as one organised Society, and *as* one organised society was handed down by divine authority to post-apostolic times. The second is, that whereas a Society, by divine law *one*, must have some divinely-

given *principle* of unity, there have been certain Christians in every subsequent age, who have considered that the obligation of communion with St. Peter and his successors was such principle; and further, that there are certain scriptural texts, which have a far more natural and probable interpretation by supposing that Christ and His Apostles taught the same doctrine. Let me now attempt to draw forth the cumulative evidence on which our conclusion rests, that such doctrine is the true one.

1. Let us suppose, for argument's sake, that some *other* doctrine on the subject really prevailed, at certain periods, in some portion of the Church : what would follow from this ? Protestant controversialists, and Mr. Hussey in the number, seem to take for granted that this circumstance would at once prove our doctrine to be a corruption. Yet surely, upon all ordinary rules of logic, it would prove nothing of the sort ; it would prove only that *one or other* of the two doctrines was a corruption. And the circumstances of the time or place where the two doctrines respectively prevailed, might be sufficient to have made clear, even to contemporaries, *which* of the two was corrupt.

To fix our ideas by an example. Mr. Hussey, as was to have been expected, lays the greatest stress on a certain attitude of antagonism, assumed on certain occasions towards the Holy See, by the general body of Eastern Bishops. Let us suppose, for argument's sake, that these Bishops advocated some doctrine *differing* from ours on the matter in hand. What would have been the value of their authority with contemporary Catholics ? Here were a body of Bishops, who so grossly failed in their very most sacred trust, that, had it not been for the intervention of the Popes of the period, it is very doubtful (to speak much within the mark) whether Nestorianism would not at one time have prevailed throughout the East, or Eutychianism at another time have been formally decreed there ; not to speak here of the Arian scandals. It is very easily conceivable then, that among such a wretched body of Bishops, a false theory on the far less primarily sacred question of Church government might have received admittance ; and the more readily, if *it were such as to flatter their love of independence*. Nay, and it is quite conceivable also, that even holy men (who would have been saved from heresy

in these high doctrinal mysteries by their sanctity itself, and by the firm grasp of Dogmatic Tradition which they would thereby obtain, and by their deeply meditative study of Scripture,) might yet have acquiesced almost unawares in such a theory. If, then, there really *had* been two rival theories at that time, respectively maintained in East and West,—there would yet have been sufficient indications for a right-minded Catholic, who should apply himself to the task of methodically considering the matter, to feel pretty confident on which side was the corruption and on which the true Apostolic Tradition. For Rome, even by Mr. Hussey's own confession (p. 56), “on this (the Nestorian), *as on other occasions, was the champion of orthodoxy.*” And of the West generally, as every historian admits, a calm, stable, unmoved faithfulness and consistency on all matters of doctrine was the unfailing characteristic; of the East, qualities the very reverse of these.

2. But even if Christians of *that age* might, on such a hypothesis, have conceivably been perplexed in their attempts to decide which was the true Tradition, it does not in the least follow that *for us* there is any perplexity. It was admitted on both sides (as none will deny) that the Church is destined by divine promise to last to the end of the world;* and it was admitted

* It occurs to me, since writing the above, that an objection may be brought against me, on the ground that I have not proved the *indefectibility* of the Church, but only its continuance into post-apostolic times. I omitted to prove this, only because I have never heard of any one *doubting* it, who believed that the Church by divine appointment entered into post-apostolic times *at all*. Mr. Waterworth's work, so often quoted, may be here also referred to under the head ‘indefectibility;’ nor am I aware on *this* head of so much as one *primâ facie* difficulty over the whole expanse of Ecclesiastical History, which requires to be considered. It may be well, however, to add the following from Mr. Palmer, a very unsuspecting authority when his words make *for us*.

“The perpetuity of the Church is indeed in some sense admitted by all parties. The creeds, which are received by the infinite majority of professing Christians, express a belief in the existence of ‘One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church;’ which usage can only be founded on the doctrine that the Church was always to continue: for why otherwise should men profess their belief in the existence of the Church as *an article of the faith*? We find that *such a belief was universal among Christians* from a very remote period. St. Athanasius says: ‘*The word is faithful, the promise is unshaken, and the Church is invincible*, though the gates of hell should come, though hell itself and the rulers of the darkness of the world therein be set in motion.’ His immediate predecessor in the see of Alexandria, St. Alexander, had taught the same doctrine: ‘We confess one and only one Catholic and Apostolic Church, *never to be*

also (as we have already proved) that the Church was one organised Society. But if any other hypothesis except ours as to the divinely-given *principle* of Unity were true, the divinely-constituted Church has long since ceased to exist; since there *is* no one organised Society, except our own, which so much as *claims* to be the one successor of the Apostolic Church. See on this head the *Second Letter*, pp. 72, 3. Even, then, if the extravagant supposition were conceded, that Christians of *that* century could have been exposed to reasonable doubt, *we* are not exposed to such doubt; for undeniable *experience* has shewn us which of the two (supposed) theories was really Apostolical. *And this argument*, be it observed, *would exist in its full force*, if the *direct* evidence in behalf of our theory were far less than it is; nay *even if there were none producible*.

3. But the strongest part of the case is, that there *is* literally no rival theory *whatever* producible: from East any more than from West; from earlier any more than from later centuries; from those who most resisted particular exercises of power on the part of the Popes, than from those who most consistently upheld them. If there *be* any such at least, let it be stated. Protestant arguers have shewn their controversial tact, by studiously avoiding any such attempt; for, in truth, the mere attempt of such a task on the part of our opponent, would serve our cause better than the most elaborate argument on the part of our friend.

Thus, to fix our ideas by an instance, if Catholic Unity do not by divine appointment consist in communion with the Pope, it may be conceived to consist in communion with *the majority* of duly ordained Bishops; the full statement of which hypothesis would be something as follows. "The divinely-given bond of union for

destroyed, though the whole world should war against it.' Eusebius observes, that the Lord 'foretold that His Church, composed of *all nations*, by His power should be invincible, unconquerable, and never to be overcome even by death.' 'Hence,' says Jerome, 'we understand that the Church may indeed be assailed by persecutions to *the end of the world*, but cannot be subverted; may be tempted, but not overcome; and this will be because the Lord God Almighty, the Lord God of the Church, has promised that He will do so.' Augustine confirms the same truths: 'The Church shall not be overcome, it shall not be rooted up, nor shall it yield to any temptations, until the end of this world shall come.'—*On the Church*, part ii. sect. i. cap. 2.

“ the Apostles, was the obligation of remaining in communion
 “ with the *majority* of their number: all duly-ordained Bishops
 “ are successors of the Apostles: accordingly, the divinely-given
 “ bond of union for priests and laity, is submission to duly-ordained
 “ Bishops; and that for Bishops, is the obligation of remaining
 “ in communion with the majority of their number. St. Peter’s
 “ Successor has no *pre-eminence* or *authority* over the Bishops,
 “ but only the place of precedence among equals. He, no less
 “ than they, *is subject to the decrees of the Majority*, whether dis-
 “ persed or authoritatively assembled in Council, in matters of
 “ faith and discipline; and *becomes a schismatic if he separates*
 “ *himself from their communion*. All Christians, who wish to be
 “ within the One Church, must count up the number of Bishops
 “ in each separate society, and remain firm in the communion of
 “ that in which they find the majority of heads: secure that this
 “ is the one, which has the gift of salvation and is the Body of
 “ Christ, and the rest are alien from the promises. If, indeed,
 “ so many Bishops should leave one of these societies for another
 “ as to change the balance of numbers, the society thus increased
 “ forthwith becomes the True Church; from which henceforth,
 “ until further notice, we are to learn true doctrine and receive
 “ the Christian Sacraments.”

This is simply the consistent statement of *one* rival theory
 to the Catholic, which can be devised; and, as I need hardly
 point out, for such a theory as this, I will not say that *less* evi-
 dence is producible from Antiquity than for the Catholic, but
 rather that *not one particle or scintilla* of evidence, no not the
 faintest hint, is discoverable. There is an appearance of absur-
 dity in the mere methodical statement of it.

Let some other, then, in like manner be attempted: as for
 example, that certain *Patriarchs* are successors of the Apostles;
 that Catholic Unity in the first age consisted in communion
 with the majority of the Apostles, and in subsequent ages with
 a majority of these Patriarchs; that the Pope is but one of these
 Patriarchs, though in precedency the first; that he is bound
 therefore to obey the decision of the majority of their number.
 Here again, it would be just as accordant with the most obvious
 facts of History, to say that the Lord Mayor of London is the

head of the Catholic Church, as to say that at any period she was believed by any one person to have received from Christ such a constitution as this.

This whole argument seems to me very unanswerable ; and yet, as Protestant controversialists seem somehow to miss its force, I must risk wearying the friendly reader's patience, by repeating it once more in another shape. They dwell with great emphasis on various instances of resistance, on the part of Bishops and others, to certain particular acts of papal power. Let them fix their attention on those very instances. Do the principal personages themselves, in these various acts of opposition, profess to ground their opposition on any theory whatever, on the constitution of the Church, different from ours? Do they maintain *e. g.* that each *Bishop* has a divine right to govern his diocese, both as to discipline and as to doctrine, according to his own judgment, independently of external interference, whether from Patriarch or Pope? or do they maintain that each *Patriarch* has the divine right of governing his patriarchate according to his own judgment independently of such interference? or do they allow indeed that the Church is one organised Society, and that her supreme government may therefore interfere at its discretion in the affairs of each patriarchate and each diocese, but maintain that the Church's supreme government is vested in some certain *other* man or aggregate of men which they name, and *not* in the Pope? If to any one of these questions Protestants could give an affirmative answer, they would be far enough indeed from proving their cause, but at least they would have a *locus standi*; they would have *their* theory, as *we* have *ours*; and we should have to compare the one theory with the other, in respect of the evidence for its Apostolicity. But if the very opposite be the case,—if in the very words and professions of the greatest objectors against Rome, you search as fruitlessly as in those of her greatest upholders, for one syllable implying any *counter*-theory whatever,—nothing surely but the lowest and most unreasoning prejudice can attach the slightest weight to such grounds of objection. A party cannot be admitted into the argumentative arena, until they will name the *thesis* for which they intend there to dispute. Let

Mr. Hussey but be induced to name his *thesis*, and the argument will be brought to a very speedy and satisfactory close. Till then, I must be allowed once more to sum up my argument.

1. The Church was either founded and continued as one indivisible body politic, or was ordained to have some other constitution which admits of being specified. In behalf of the first of these alternatives there is a vast body of most explicit evidence; for the second, in any shape that can be named, not one particle of evidence. Therefore the first alternative is true; that is, the Church by divine right is one indivisible body politic.

2. An indivisible body politic has some one or other bond or principle of union: the Church therefore, being by divine appointment an indivisible body politic, has by divine appointment some such bond. There is strong evidence in Scripture and Antiquity, that the obligation of communion with the Holy See is that bond; there is no *other* alleged bond of union, in behalf of which one single *scrap* of evidence is producible from Scripture or Antiquity. Therefore the Church, by divine appointment one indivisible body politic, has, for its bond of union, the divinely-imposed obligation of communion with the Holy See. I now proceed further.

It needs not many words to shew, that, to be the *centre of unity* in such a Society is, by the most necessary consequence, to be its Supreme Governor. The argument in the sixth section of my *Second Letter* purports to prove, that the Church is a Society, endowed by God with the gift of infallibly teaching *doctrine*, and entrusted also by Him with the commission of enforcing by His authority rules of *discipline*. Let us first consider the latter of these two. She is by divine appointment indivisibly one, with the power, *as one*, of enforcing by a supernatural sanction rules of discipline. Let us suppose now, for a moment, that her bond of unity had been (as is more common in temporal constitutions,) the voice of the *majority* of her rulers; and let us suppose that this or that individual ruler, in any particular case, were to attempt, contrary to the will of this majority, to enact, in his own particular province, this or that disciplinary law. If such an enactment were *binding*, it would follow that the Society had not the right of governing *as one*; but the very contrary, that each individual ruler was so far the independent head of

a separate society: which is precisely contrary to the supposition with which we set out. Every one would see this in the case supposed. Again, if the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had the power of enacting laws for Ireland, contrary to the will of the United Parliament, that would be tantamount to saying that Great Britain and Ireland do not make up *one* body politic, but *two*. Now the case before us is precisely parallel. For the fact that, in the Christian Church, the bond of union is not the voice of the *majority*, nor the voice of an *United Parliament*, but the obligatoriness of communion with *one* definite personage, makes no difference in the principle. If a Bishop could make disciplinary laws in his own diocese, contrary to the express prohibition of Rome, and when a withdrawal of her communion is the consequence, that would be simply to say that the Christian Church, so far as discipline is concerned, is *not* one Society, but consists of as many societies as there are Bishops. Such laws of an individual Bishop therefore are only binding, so long as Rome does not expressly annul them. In the last resort, therefore, Rome is sovereign.*

* Since writing the above, I have referred with great attention to an article against the Papal Supremacy, which appeared in the *Christian Remembrancer* for January 1851. I find there a passage which will help me to make my argument here still clearer.

“We need but cast our eyes around the society in which we live, to see that a *first place* is different from, and short of, *absolute power*; and that such primacies not only of rank, but of real power, differ in every conceivable degree among themselves. To say that an authority is in some sense *supreme*, tells nothing of its real extent of action, till we know what other powers work with it” (pp. 71, 2).

This is most just. The writer proceeds to illustrate: “There are supreme courts, courts of first appeal, &c. ; . . . but these are powers only *under fixed conditions*; *apart from those conditions*, their pre-eminence *avails them nothing*. Take the dominant state in an association of nations; it may be the *leadership* of Sparta, or the *rule* of Athens, or the *empire* of Rome, or the *pre-eminence* of Austria and Prussia. . . . Take the general of an order, the abbot of a monastery, the head of a college, the chancellor or vice-chancellor of a university; *primacies* all of them, *of great and real power*,” and yet not absolute.

Nothing can be more important than the bringing together of such instances; and their contrast with that of the Papal Primacy will make our argument clearer. We put out of the question, of course, such instances as do not refer to an *organised society* at all; such as the alliances of Sparta and Athens; as I am not supposing it questioned here, that the Church was divinely set up and continued under this precise idea of an *organised Society*: this is the *previous* thesis which I have admitted all through to be a necessary basis for the present. Take the other instances, an order, a monastery, a college, an university,—you see at once that each one of them has a *constitution* of its own; and that *this* is its bond or principle of union. A general of an order or abbot has exactly so many privileges as the rules of the order

In my *Second Letter* I have carried out a similar argument into the province of *teaching*. "If the one way appointed by Christ for us to learn doctrine is, that we receive humbly the teaching of His Church; and if that Church be the Visible Body in communion with Rome; to suppose that this body can teach error, is to suppose that Christ Himself can directly teach error" (p. 121). But if the Society in communion with Rome cannot teach error, this is but saying, in other words, that Rome cannot enforce error as the *condition* of communion; or, in other words again, that tenets, which she *does* enforce as conditions of communion, cannot *be* errors.

Both these respective doctrines, then, are by absolute necessity implied in our original statement, that Rome is the divinely-appointed centre of union; and, as *being* so implied, must have been inevitably evolved from it, as time went on, and as circumstances elicited its full meaning and its divers bearings. But, in fact, both these consequences were not unperceived, but directly recognised, in various instances, from the first. Indeed, of the respective quotations which I have drawn out from Mr. Sconce's work, it will be found (I think) that quite as many refer to the Holy Father under the special idea of "supreme visible teacher," or "supreme visible governor of the Church," as under that more elementary one of "centre of unity;" and as early as the Fourth

or monastery confer upon him; and if there be a dispute as to the *meaning* of the rules, there is a duly appointed tribunal to adjudicate. Precisely the same in a college or in an university, as we all know; precisely the same, I may add, in the case of that Society, which is called the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." The *constitution* of an order, is not the obligation of its members to continue in communion with a certain specified general; nor of a monastery with a particular abbot; nor of a college with the head; nor of an university with the vice-chancellor; nor even of the United Kingdom with the Queen. General, abbot, vice-chancellor, and head, may all be deposed by duly appointed authority; and (I trust it is not unbecoming, for the sake of making my argument clear, to put so absurd a supposition) if the King or Queen of England were to endeavour to enforce laws of his own, against the will of parliament, and were to refuse to specify any one as being his responsible adviser (who in that case, as such, would be condignly punished by the outraged laws), every one would regard him as having *ipso facto* ceased to reign.

Now nothing can make clearer than this, the very point for which I am contending. In the case of the Catholic Church, its precise *constitution*, its precise principle of Unity, is (what it is *not* in the *other* case) the obligation of *communion* with its head; at least, as I have so often said, if that be *not* its divinely-given constitution, let our opponents endeavour to name *some other*. But if it *be*, then, as I argue in the text, the Pope must be *jure divino* absolute sovereign.

Century, as every one knows, we find this very precise expression, "The Church is God's house, *whose ruler* at this time is Damasus" (quoted by Newman on *Development*).

There would literally not be the slightest difficulty in the way of these various conclusions, though there were even a considerable number of ecclesiastical facts which the Catholic found it difficult to understand. In the first place, the Protestant finds such facts as difficult to understand as the Catholic does; for if not, why is he not able to state the definite anti-Catholic thesis, which he imagines such facts to support? But, in truth, I have already drawn out a large number of causes, amply sufficient in themselves to account for any extent of traditionary corruption; and literally, the very utmost, that our inability to explain this or that fact would shew, is, that in our great ignorance of various contemporary circumstances, we are not able to specify for certain, among *all* these classes of corrupting causes, to *which* the *particular* corruption was attributable. But the only matter which concerns us is, surely, not how we are to *account* for such a corruption, but whether we are quite certain it *is* a corruption. And of this we *are* quite certain, as I have so repeatedly said, in the existing state of the controversy; it is quite certain that this or that act or speech of this or that Father is no exponent of a genuine Tradition, is no evidence of any Apostolical doctrine, when those very adversaries, who cite such act or speech, are unable so much as to *imagine* any conceivably Apostolical doctrine, in behalf of which they can even *allege* it.

I suppose there is more than one doctrinal question (though I have really no particular instance in my mind when I make the observation,) on which this consideration *must* be the refuge of a Catholic; more than one instance, in which, while it is most abundantly certain from History that this or that tenet is a corruption, our ignorance of facts, nevertheless, is too great, to allow us to ascertain the exact origin, and trace the exact progress, of such corruption. But at all events, on the present subject, there is no such difficulty. It would, perhaps, be bold to say, that no one isolated instance presents obstacles in the way of satisfactory explanation; though I *know* none of those commonly alleged in controversy which presents any: but this I confidently affirm,

that the general *lie* and *course* of ecclesiastical phenomena in every age, to my mind, group themselves, with the utmost readiness and naturalness, around this central Catholic doctrine. The only assumption necessary to explain them, being one which, over and above the evidence of its truth arising *from* its explaining and harmonising facts, will be admitted (I think) by every candid person, to have the utmost antecedent probability in its favour. That assumption is the following: That in proportion as persecution ceased, and free intercourse between the various parts of the Church became habitual,—and again, in proportion as orthodoxy became more deeply and firmly established,—*the consolidation of the Christian Empire* became one primary object, at which the visible sovereign of that Empire was bound to aim.

Every one knows what is meant in History by the consolidation of an Empire; it is making the sovereign power more sensibly and practically felt through every part of it. And every one knows the inestimable importance of this process, where the object is, on the one hand, to foster a deep spirit of unity within, and, on the other hand, to make the Empire influential or formidable in its effect on those without. And when I speak of this as one primary object at which the Supreme Pontiffs were bound to aim, I am far from meaning that a distinct plan of operations towards this result was consciously thought out, and handed onwards from Pope to Pope: this is not the ordinary way by which God performs great works. Rather, each successive event would bring with it some new consciousness to the mind of the reigning Pontiff, as to the nature and extent of the post which God had assigned to his keeping; the functions which of right belonged to it; and the immediate duties *flowing* from those functions. Let me now, then, take in order the chief anti-papal objections, and see how immediately they fall to the ground on this simple view of the case. And I say anti-papal rather than Protestant, for the reason so often repeated; because such reasons are *in favour* of nothing at all, and would be as pertinent in the mouth of an atheist as of an Anglican; being *objections against* one definite view, and not tending ever so remotely to the establishment of another in its stead.

Objection 1. The Popes were continually making "aggressions" on the rights of other bishops; *i. e.* claiming to exercise power which they had not been in the habit of exercising.

Undoubtedly. To make the sovereign's influence more sensibly felt throughout the Church, one most obvious means is, that he shall take into his hands various matters of administration, which had hitherto been allowed to remain in other hands. To make "aggressions," in this sense, was one principal duty of the reigning Pontiff.

Objection 2. These "aggressions" were frequently resisted by those against whom they were directed. So Mr. Hussey, *passim*.

Certainly this would be an objection, if our opponents maintained, or if we on our principles were *bound* to maintain, such wooden, stupid, ideas on the nature of Tradition, as those exposed some pages back. If, for instance, we were bound to maintain, that the early orthodox Bishops,—while heathen persecution was oppressing them and keeping them asunder, or while they were engaged in an active and protracted struggle against the most insidious heresies, in behalf of those high mysteries of faith which are the stay and support of the holy soul,—if we were bound to maintain that these Bishops, through the excitement of their material and their moral conflicts, preserved accurately, in their memory or in writing, a precise and definite constitutional code, with which they were prepared rigorously to square their ecclesiastical acts in proportion as circumstances should allow, though circumstances had hitherto *forbidden* its practical adoption;—if we were bound to maintain *this*, there is no lack of absurd results of all kinds which would *also* be pressed on our acceptance. But if not, how can it cause a moment's wonder that, in various instances, they were not prepared at once to admit some claim on the part of a Pope, which confessedly had not been previously put forth?

The very fact of his interference implies, that, on the immediate circumstances of the case, on the desirableness of some matter of discipline, or on the essentialness (if I may coin a word) of some matter of doctrine, their opinion differed from his. Can it be gravely urged as an objection to their true belief in

his Supremacy, that many men were slow to surrender a preconceived opinion, or innovate on a long-established usage, in deference to a mandate from him, which confessedly went beyond any former exercise of his power? Is it the common habit even of very able men, much more of men of ordinary intellect, under circumstances of excitement and in the hurry of a crisis, to analyse the speculative opinions they hold, and carry them forward to their true conclusions? And are they *more* likely to do so, when these conclusions are strongly in the teeth both of ancient custom and present inclination? Nay, even if the opposition be energetic and long-continued, is it unnatural that the Holy Father, at the helm, should take a more true and just view of principles, than a local Bishop in some corner of Christendom? Or, again, is it uncommon to find that a conscientious man thinks more about his own duties than others do for him? and so that a Pope would be more keen-sighted than others as to the extent of his own prerogatives, when such prerogatives involved *the heaviest responsibilities*?

Objection 3. It is sometimes found in History, that Popes *yield* for the time to such opposition; and yet that their successors make use of some more favourable moment, for *establishing* the once-abandoned claims.

This is so obviously the course dictated by charity, in cases where the opposition is *bona fide*; where the concession involves no direct violation of duty (such *e. g.* as toleration of heresy); and where to press the claim at the moment might risk a schism; that I should not even put it down as an objection, did I not know that it is gravely urged as such. Let me refer, for a more detailed treatment of it, to the *Second Letter*, pp. 18-20.

Objection 4. It happened more than once, that an Emperor, or again a Council, acted or spoke in a way apparently inconsistent with belief in the Pope's doctrinal infallibility; and yet the Pope acts with them, without scruple or protest, in taking measures against the heresy of the day.

There is no sin in communicating with those, who even in terms deny the Pope's doctrinal infallibility; much less therefore with those, who only do not seem distinctly to apprehend it in itself or in its results: because this truth, however certain, has

never, even to this day, been defined as an article of faith. Never indeed did any Pope, from the earliest times, admit the possibility of doctrinal corruption in the Holy See. But when he found an Emperor or Bishops ready to act with him in energetically repressing heresy, was he to wait for an explicit recognition of his prerogatives, and so allow the heresy to make progress, and infect the body of the Church, and destroy souls to an indefinite extent?

Objection 5. The canons of Sardica *conferred* on the Pope the right of appeal; those therefore who enacted these canons did not believe that the Pope, *jure divino*, had such right.

Mr. Hussey takes for granted, without argument, that these canons confer upon the Pope a right, which he had not hitherto been in the habit of exercising: Mr. Sconce *adduces* arguments, which seem conclusively to prove the reverse of this. But the question is quite immaterial. The Council is occupied, either in sanctioning a discipline already established, or introducing a new one, (I care not which,) on the question of appeal. It is legislating practically for an immediately practical object: it is deciding upon what terms the mutual relation of bishops is at present to be carried on. The question of abstract right is evidently the farthest possible from their thoughts. Any Catholic of the present day would say, that the Holy Father can remove Vicars-Apostolic at his simple pleasure, but Bishops in ordinary only for some canonical offence. He would mean that this is now the practical discipline of the Church, and nothing else whatever would be in his thoughts. What could be more preposterous, than to cite such an expression as testifying against the Pope's *abstract* right to make what laws in the Church he pleases? or, again, to cite it in behalf of the schism called *la petite Eglise*? Yet this is precisely the argument built on these Sardican canons.

Weak indeed would be such an argument, even if the canons stood alone, without external illustration of their meaning. But let it be remembered, that it was this very Council which, on breaking up, addressed to Pope Julius the above quoted words—“for this will seem to be the best and most fitting, if the Lord's priests *from every province in the world* refer to *the Head*, that is to *the See of the Apostle Peter*.” Is this the language of men,

who have been conferring the right of appeal, as a privilege *resting ultimately on their own authority*? Yet it *would* be so resting, if it were merely of ecclesiastical right, and not of divine.

Objection 6. The subsequent Popes often appealed to these canons in behalf of their claim to hear appeals, instead of grounding such claim on their divinely given-authority.

The former objection was flimsy enough; but this goes far beyond it. What! Did English subjects *e. g.* profess that the privileges guaranteed to them by Magna Charta, or the Petition of Rights, were not legitimately theirs *previously* to those enactments? Is not the very opposite absolutely notorious? Did not the whole agitation for those charters proceed on the hypothesis, that the claimants sought, not a new concession, but the expression of an ancient right? And yet, in all subsequent contentions, the appeal was *not to such ancient rights*, but to *these written documents*. And that for the very obvious reason, that a written document is something definite and tangible to appeal to; something which admits of no mistake or evasion; something which would necessarily be common ground to both parties. Such a phenomenon as the above, then, cannot be alleged, without the most preposterous extravagance, as implying, on the part of a Pope, the slightest admission against his own divinely-given prerogative. The very utmost it can even *tend* to prove is, that other bishops were not so clear-sighted as the Pope himself, as to the various legitimate *applications* of that prerogative. But this last fact I have already most fully admitted.

Objection 7 from an article in the *Christian Remembrancer*, already quoted. The early assertion of their prerogative by Popes, and admission of it by others, helps not forward at all the precise modern Roman view. "Pre-eminence proves nothing, deference proves nothing, the necessity of communion proves nothing, if that for which proof be wanted is the exclusive derivation of episcopal authority from the Pope."*

"Pre-eminence" certainly proves nothing, and "deference" proves nothing; but "necessity of communion" proves *every thing*. I have already explained this at so great length, that I

* *Christian Remembrancer* for January, 1851, p. 81.

hardly know how to make it clearer; and it will come before us again in answering the next objection.

Objection 8, from the same article. "If the Pope was from the first . . . the acknowledged and only source of all ecclesiastical authority, *it is impossible there should be any mistaking it*" in the records of Antiquity; "the position . . . is a very clear one, and the evidence, if there is any at all, cannot but be as *clear* also."*

Why? Let me repeat my argument at the risk of tedium. It may be most unhesitatingly asserted, that there is no trace, from the first, of any Patriarch or Bishop imagining that his jurisdiction was, in its essence, independent of the obligation of union with the rest of the Church. To make such a supposition, would be to suppose, in other words, that to such Patriarch or Bishop the special sin of *schism* would be simply impossible; and that if he thought fit to hold aloof from the rest of the Church, all the priests under him would be absolutely *bound*, under pain of damnation, to keep aloof also. We may most unhesitatingly assert, that there is not the faintest trace of such a doctrine in the records of the Church; because if there *had* been, the many bitter enemies of Catholicism would long since have brought such trace to light. Every one therefore, whether Bishop or Patriarch, believed that his ecclesiastical jurisdiction was *not* independent, but was contingent on union with the one organised Society called the Church. This one organised Society *had* some organisation or other. *Many* from the first explicitly held, that this organisation was the obligation of communion with Rome; and *no* one from the first, *either explicitly or implicitly*, held any other principle of organisation: hence this *was* the divinely-given organisation. But if the jurisdiction *e. g.* of a Patriarch was contingent on his union with the one organised Church; and if the one organised Church meant simply the Society in communion with Rome; then the jurisdiction of a Patriarch was contingent on communion with Rome: therefore if Rome withdrew her communion, such jurisdiction ceased: therefore the Pope was the ultimate source of jurisdiction. What flaw can be found in all this?

* *Christian Remembrancer* for January, 1851, p. 54.

Again, the greatest Catholic writers freely admit, that the *exercise* of Papal power was very much more limited in earlier than in later times. Now the government of the Church, on the one hand by a body of Bishops who held their prerogative solely in virtue of their communion with the Holy See, and its government on the other hand simply and directly by the Pope himself,—these two modes of government, so far as external and superficial appearances go, are undoubtedly very different: and yet, nevertheless, in their real nature and ultimate analysis, they are absolutely identical. Let me cite an instance in which no one will deny this. The power of the Pope is, at the present time, very far more practically and sensibly felt in the more distant extremities of the Christian Empire, than it was even in the middle ages;* yet no one will say that the government of the Church, at the 19th and 13th centuries respectively, is mutually different *in principle*. Why, then, does a similar difference in *practical exercise* between the 13th and the 3d centuries, constitute in *that* instance a difference of principle either? So to take another case from the possible future. I am myself one of those, who most earnestly hope that the influence of Rome, throughout every corner of Catholic Christendom, may still constantly and energetically increase; and who are convinced, that all hopes of the progress of Catholicism in England *e. g.* are most intimately and indissolubly bound up, with the greater and greater strengthening of the bonds which unite us to Rome; and with an ever-increasing loyalty and devotion of heart, and most submissive obedience, to the Holy See. But though this bright hope were at some future day accomplished, even in the degree in which Christ Himself could wish, who would say that the difference between English Catholics of that future day, and of this, is one of *principle*?

Let me put the same thing in still another shape. In earlier times, as compared with later, the exercise of Papal power was greatly limited. From this our opponents infer, that there were

* There was an extremely curious statement in the *Tablet* a year or two back, as to the constitution of the various ecclesiastical tribunals in Rome at the respective periods of the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries; shewing how *incomparably* greater is the number of appeals from all parts of the Church to Rome now than there was then.

some *divinely-appointed* limits to that divinely-appointed power, over and above such limits as are fully and unanimously recognised by Catholics of the present day. Let such opponents *state* those supposed limits: they cannot; they have never even attempted it.

In regard, now, to the special objection above raised, I observe that never was there a more absurdly gratuitous hypothesis, than that which it contains. *Why* was God bound to make explicitly evident from the first, to every Christian, every Papal prerogative, which was *really* contained in the fundamental principle of the Church's organisation? *Why* was He bound Himself to declare all this in some formal document or long-detailed formula, instead of allowing circumstances gradually to unfold it? How in the world are *we* able to judge, which mode of action is most suitable to the hidden purposes of His Providence? The objection is precisely parallel to Tom Paine's, who said he could never believe that God had made a revelation, which He had not written plainly in the sun, or had not in some other equally effectual method made unmistakeably manifest to all men. In this, as in so many other particulars, the anti-Catholic argument is simply infidel.

But the truth is, that there is another circumstance in Ecclesiastical History which closely bears on the question: I mean, the undoubted fact, that for many centuries every age of Christians expected the speedy return of Christ to judgment. I am not going to enter here into the *rationale* of this phenomenon; it is sufficient for my purpose that every one admits the fact. On the other hand, it is maintained by all Catholic controversialists, that a great number of the Pope's divinely-given prerogatives were quite incapable of being advantageously exercised, nay, of being exercised at all, except in circumstances the most dissimilar to those of the earliest Christian times. Is it not, then, as plain as day, that the distinct and explicit enunciation by the Apostles of these various prerogatives, would have implied, as a necessary consequence, that the Second Coming was many centuries distant? that the Church was destined to outlive the existing state of society, and reach into a new social world? If God wished, therefore, that Christians should ever be looking for Christ's re-

turn, He could not have so acted as the objection supposes, unless He simultaneously worked a miracle, to prevent that result which the ordinary laws of human nature must have produced.

Much might be also said, on the parallel between this and other Christian doctrines, as to its method of revelation; but that this would lead us into too wide and extended a field.

Reverting to Professor Hussey, I have hardly the honour of any further acquaintance with him, than that which is implied in having been an undergraduate at Christ Church Oxford, when he was tutor; but even so much acquaintance as that, is quite sufficient to give one a knowledge of his character. It was the universal judgment of the whole body of undergraduates, that his plain manly candour and energetic straightforwardness were so conspicuously manifest in every thing which he did or said, as to be placed beyond the possibility of doubt or cavil. And yet, as if some fatality were at work the moment that even the most upright men take up arms against the Church, who can say that such qualities are similarly evident in the Lectures on which I have been commenting?

To make my meaning clear, let me confine myself to one particular office of the Church, that of teaching. We Catholics hold one most definite and practical doctrine, as to the one means given to Christians by our Blessed Saviour, of learning the religion which He came to reveal. Mr. Hussey attempts the overthrow of that particular belief (belief in the Papal Supremacy), which, by the confession of both parties, is the very keystone of this doctrine; and yet, as to what Rule of Faith he would himself substitute, he has not enabled us so much as to guess. It is not as though he were one of those, who consider the Scriptures to be the one sole standard of belief to individual Christians. Such an opinion as this, I, for one, regard indeed as among the most grotesque and preposterous superstitions on record; whether we consider its historical baselessness, or its practical absurdity: yet at least, as far as statement is concerned, it is straightforward and consistent. But Mr. Hussey implies throughout, that he regards "the Church" as having "authority in controversies of Faith," as his articles of religion express it. And yet, as to what "the Church" is, or what its "authority" is, he

lets us know no more of his opinion, than that "the Church" is *not* the Society governed by the Pope, and that the "authority" is *not* that of infallible guidance.

But if "the Church has authority," it is most essential for Christians to know what it *is*, not what it is not. For instance, is it one Society or an "aggregate of Societies?" If the latter, what *makes* any Society one of this favoured aggregate? is the having a *Bishop** necessary? is this *sufficient*? Then as to the body of religious opinion recognised in such a Society, since it is not certainly true, by what standard is each individual Christian to measure it? So far as he may differ from it, what is his proper attitude towards it? And how are the indefeasible claims on his allegiance of spiritual *truth*, to receive their due recognition? Is *our* communion *part* of that aggregate? If yes, are those born in Catholic countries bound to receive as true what Mr. Hussey firmly holds to be false? Or else, on the other hand, does God, having set up a "branch" of "His Church" among them, require of them that they reject its teaching and incur its anathemas? But if our communion is *not* part of that aggregate, of what does the aggregate consist? These questions are no minor and subordinate ones; they are not such as bear upon some one or two isolated and detached matters of duty; so far from it, that the majority of them *must* be practically answered one way or other, before one single act of Christian Faith, or one single fulfilment of Christian precept, as such, is so much as possible. And yet Mr. Hussey leaves his hearers without one hint for their solution.

To consider, however, in a *moral* point of view, the state of mind which such a course seems to imply, both in professor and students, or (to speak more truly) in the religious system to which they belong, would necessitate remarks of such severity, as should not be made without the fullest explanation and most careful limitation; and this would carry us too far away from our immediate subject. But what is its merely *intellectual*

* I do not say, the being *governed* by a Bishop; for even Mr. Hussey would hardly say that the English dioceses are *governed* by their respective Bishops, except subordinately to the law of the land, which rigorously defines and limits their functions.

aspect? On every other subject of human thought, in scientific, historical, critical, literary, or æsthetical discussions, there is no course universally considered so low and grovelling, as that of picking holes in every existing school of opinion, without the attempt at originating one single positive idea. How long is a procedure, scouted in every other subject-matter, to pass current in the noblest and highest of all?

In a word, Truth is consistent with itself. No one who professes himself able to use his mind at all, is at liberty to acquiesce in a congeries of opinions mutually contradictory. Now I maintain, first, that there is no assemblage of general propositions able to be specified, as to the constitution and functions of the Christian Church, which, on the one hand, are free from such mutual contradiction, and on the other hand, are reconcileable with the claims, put forth on behalf of the Establishment, as being a "branch of the Catholic Church," and having "authority in controversies of faith." And I maintain secondly, that there is no assemblage of general propositions which can be specified, differing from ours, on the constitution and functions of the Christian Church, which, on the one hand, are free from such mutual contradiction, and, on the other hand, can be maintained by our most prejudiced opponents as having even a *shred* of support from the records of Antiquity. But if there be no one assemblage of consistent propositions which has *either* of these two attributes, (*viz.* the being reconcileable *either* with belief in the Establishment's Catholicity, *or* with the testimony of Antiquity,) how *doubly* certain is it (if I may so express myself), that no such statement is possible as is requisite for my opponent's case; no one statement, which shall unite *both* these indispensable requisites; which shall *both* have some appearance of agreement with Antiquity, and *also* some appearance of being reconcileable with belief, that members of the Establishment are within the Church of Christ.

One very simple and brief mode of disproving these two assertions, is ready at hand; *viz.* the *expressing* such general propositions on the constitution of the Christian Church. Heartily do I wish that, now at least, in this the Fourth Century of their separation from us, they would at last give us *some* positive statement of principle, with which we could grapple. The having

any definite position to attack, is an advantage which would come to us with all the attraction of freshness and novelty. I venture, however, to prophesy, that there will be no such attempt. Our opponents know full well, though possibly by an unconscious instinct, that their whole strength lies in criticism and attack; and that to make one single positive assertion, and keep to it, is argumentatively to ruin their cause.*

There is one more subject, on which I should touch in this Preface. It may be asked, whether I allege that grounds of a merely historical and external character, such as those with which the whole present volume mainly deals, can be reason sufficient for a Christian's abandoning at once all his earliest and holiest associations; and for his quitting a communion without delay, which may have been in one sense the instrument of much good to himself; with whose general tone his moral perceptions are still in harmony; and in whose behalf, persons, whom he has long learned to revere, earnestly maintain, that it contains every thing necessary for holiness and salvation. On this general head, I would beg particularly to refer to the concluding remarks of the *Second Letter* (pp. 135-140). If I went too far, in some things which I wrote as a Protestant, in the way of disparaging all historical arguments, I wish the reader at least to observe, that I have not now gone into the opposite extreme. In truth, considering how especially Faith is the gift of God and the result of grace, and how closely that which *is* believed is bound up with the whole texture and character of our moral nature; it does

* I may as well add here one word, in reply to an extraordinary statement which I have sometimes seen, viz that Catholics who advocate what has been called the principle of *Development*, give up the ground of *History*. Even one's ordinary experience on the recklessness of anti-Catholic arguments, would have hardly prepared us for so wonderful an allegation as this. The considerations mentioned in the text, however, are a sufficient reply to it. If Ecclesiastical History do indeed testify to some definite assemblage of doctrines and principles, differing from ours, let such assemblage be specified: the mere attempt to do so would shew the wild extravagance of the assertion. For my own part, so far as I am acquainted with Ecclesiastical History, the two things which it seems to me, from the very first to the very last, to testify with the most unmistakable clearness, are, first, the Apostolicity of that one definite system of doctrine which we maintain to be the Catholic; and secondly, this process of "development," through which the said doctrine from the very first has ever been passing. See, on this head, Father Newman's most accurate phraseology, quoted in a different connexion, in the *Second Letter*, p. 47, note.

seem inconceivable, that a mere summing up, and pronouncing judgment upon, historical evidence, can be of itself a sufficient basis within the mind, whereon the fabric of religious conviction may securely rest.

I will take this opportunity, of putting on record the existing state of a significant controversy between the *Christian Remembrancer* and myself; if controversy that can be called, on which one side maintains a persevering silence.

Let me here cite a passage from the Preface to the *Final Letter* :

“ I must take advantage of this opportunity, for want of a better, to comment on another matter connected with my former Letter; and to express my great surprise at the silence of the *Christian Remembrancer* on certain matters contained in it. I am not alluding, of course, to my various allegations of theological and argumentative inaccuracy against that Review; every periodical has the full right to determine for itself on the time of noticing an antagonist, or whether it shall notice him at all. But all honest men will agree with me, that where a question of *misrepresentation* is concerned, however unintentional such misrepresentation may have in the first instance been, the case is widely different.

“ Now, in my former Letter (p. 47, note,) I drew attention to a statement in the *Christian Remembrancer* that Father Newman’s account ‘ of the origin of the existing dogmatic Christianity ’ is ‘ substantially identical ’ with that of a Mr. Ierson; who considers our Lord to have been ‘ a mere preacher of natural religion, ’ averse to dogmas of all sorts. This imputation was grounded on a single passage in Father Newman’s recent Lectures. Altogether denying that his words could fairly bear such an interpretation, I drew attention however to another passage in the same Lectures; on which I observed, that ‘ if Father Newman had been aware of Mr. Ierson’s statement, and wished to express distinctly the precise *contradictory* to it, I see not how he could have used more explicit language. ’ I then proceeded to say: ‘ As several readers of the *Christian Remembrancer* may not have looked through Father Newman’s Lectures, I cannot doubt that the Editor’s sense of justice will lead him to insert this passage, when his attention is drawn to it; in order that his readers may judge for themselves how far he has truly represented Father Newman’s doctrine. ’ As soon as my pamphlet was published, I forwarded it to the Editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*; and I added a private note, expressly drawing his attention to this com-

ment of mine, and to no other part of the whole pamphlet. Two numbers of his periodical have since appeared, and not the slightest notice has been taken of my communication.

“ Now, here is an imputation brought against no ordinary person, of as ‘ unspeakably disparaging’ a nature (to use my former phrase,) as can well be conceived ; it would be more true to say, of as ‘ grossly calumnious :’ though I was unwilling to use the word ‘ *calumny*,’ in the then position of circumstances. The Editor, on being expressly applied to, will not so much as allow his readers (if he can help it) to *see* a passage of the same writer’s, which has been alleged as in itself a sufficient refutation of such calumny. If such controversial tactics *are* to exist, may they ever continue in the undisputed possession of our opponents !

“ As soon as the present pamphlet is out, I shall also forward a copy of *it* to the Editor of the *Christian Remembrancer* ; and shall again add a private note, drawing his attention to this Preface.”

I fulfilled the intention here expressed, and two *more* numbers of the *Christian Remembrancer* have since appeared ; but no notice whatever has been taken of my appeal to the Editor’s common fairness and controversial honesty.

A charge has been brought forward by this worthy Editor, the most destructive one can well imagine of an opponent’s reputation. If he still believe the charge true, where can be the common manliness and courage of a man who hangs back from vindicating it ? If (as I suppose one may fairly presume from his silence,) he now knows it to be false, what terms can we find suitable to designate the conduct of one, who will wilfully, deliberately, and continuously, cling to the grossest false-witness, rather than give an opponent his fair controversial advantage ?

I shall forward this Preface also to the Editor, and add a *third* private letter, drawing his special attention to the present position of the case.

ONE WORD ON THE ACTUAL CONSTITUTION OF THE ANGLICAN ESTABLISHMENT.

It is a matter of plain common sense and common observation, that the Anglican Establishment is dependent upon the State, in quite another sense from that in which any branch of the Catholic Church, whether in mediæval or in modern times, has been dependent on it. But this plain matter of fact has been called in question; and precedents have been adduced, with more or less ingenuity, from other times and countries, with the view of throwing doubt on its truth. This indeed is but one of the innumerable instances, wherein the dictates of plain common sense are called in question by a superficial learning, but re-established in their full perspicuity and force by a deeper and more philosophic erudition. Nothing however of that kind will of course be attempted in this short *brochure*; but I shall rather enter into a previous enquiry, the result of which may make further argument on mere historical *details* unnecessary. I shall enquire, what *is* the actual constitution of the Anglican Establishment.

The Bishop of Oxford has taken occasion by the Gorham decision, to enunciate a certain proposition concerning Baptism, as being the undoubted doctrine of the Anglican Church, as of the Catholic Church from the first. Now I wish to ask, supposing a clergyman, presented to a benefice, were to come before Dr. Wilberforce for institution, would his Lordship venture to interrogate him, for the purpose of discovering whether he faithfully holds this necessary and essential doctrine? Nay, were the clergyman to claim as his own the *ipsissima verba* of Mr. Gorham, would his Lordship venture to refuse him institution? If he would not venture so to do, what does his grand and solemn enunciation come to? It comes apparently to this, that it almost debars us from the possibility of attributing to his Lordship invincible ignorance of Catholic Truth on this head; and almost of necessity compels us to pronounce—that in instituting such clergyman, he would act deliberately against his conscience, in one of the most solemn acts he can be called on to perform.

But let us suppose that Dr. Wilberforce *did* refuse to institute; he would then place himself precisely in the position of Dr. Philpotts. The Bishop of Exeter, (and he alone among so many bishops,) in one particular instance at least, has had the honesty to act upon his convictions, and has refused to institute Mr. Gorham. Will the law bear him out in doing so? If it will, it is the very last thing I should think of denying, that he will persevere in his course. But let us suppose, as appears almost certain, that the law will *not* bear him out: what then will the Bishop of Exeter do?

His Lordship maintains that the supervision of the Diocese of Exeter is committed to him by Divine right. Will he then solemnly warn the parishioners of Bampford Speke to refuse all attendance on the ministration of one, whom his Lordship himself denounces as a heretic? Will he entrust jurisdiction over these parishioners to some other clergyman, (whether one of the neighbouring incumbents, or some other,) and solemnly call on them, as they value their souls to join themselves to this clergyman, and above all, to avoid the congregation of the parish church, as the synagogue of Satan?

If he do *less* than this, he deliberately violates what on his own shewing is among his most solemn duties, and so damns his soul. But if he do *so much* as this, is it not as plain as day, that from that moment the disruption of the Establishment is no longer a matter in immediate prospect, but a matter *already begun*? There may be differences of opinion as to the precise *means* by which such disruption would be carried into effect; but there can be no difference of opinion, that from the moment two clergymen should appear in opposition at Bampford Speke, one under the sanction of the Bishop, and the other under the sanction of the State, the Establishment and the Bishop of Exeter are in the very act of parting company.

This then, and no less than this, is the charge we bring against (not the Anglican Establishment, but) the existence of high-church principles within its pale: viz., that the very tenure by which it is held together, the very condition of its existence, is, that Bishops of 'high-church' principles shall consent to commit what they are bound to consider as mortal sin. No Bishop of the Establishment can possibly take any standard of orthodoxy except

what the Law courts, as subject to Parliament, shall declare, and then faithfully act upon such standard, without being himself of necessity driven out of the Establishment.—In other words, every single Bishop of the Establishment intending to remain such, either on the one hand holds the Erastian heresy, or on the other hand is resolved on occasion to commit mortal sin.

We all know how many opinions have been held of late years within the Establishment, which all ‘high-churchmen’ must regard as damnable heresies. The Protestant Archbishop of Dublin advocates Sabellianism; the Dean of Saint Paul’s doubts the reality of our blessed Saviour’s temptation; and it cannot but be that such dignitaries have followers among the inferior clergy. Has any one of the bishops who profess ‘high-church’ opinions, so much as made the attempt to satisfy himself that presentees to benefices are free from such heresies, before he institutes them, and so confers on them what he calls jurisdiction? And if not, why not? for the plain reason, that he knows the law-courts will not bear him out in such attempt; and that heresies short of simple and avowed Unitarianism, would be sure of patronage in high places.

It will be said, perhaps, that in their examinations for ordination several of the Bishops have of late made considerable enquiries into the faith of the candidates. If the fact is so, my argument is greatly forwarded. For no one will say, that ecclesiastically speaking, the *institution* of a heretic is a less serious evil than his *ordination*: rather, if a comparison is to be made, the direct conferring of spiritual jurisdiction on such a person over a flock, is the more intolerable evil of the two. Why is it then that some Bishops display a strictness in the one case which they dare not display in the other? Because the *law of the land allows them a latitude in one case, which, in its jealousy for the rights of patrons, it does not allow them in the other*. No other answer can possibly be given.

Here then, as in the former case, the very fact that certain of their Lordships do exercise a certain strictness in examining the orthodoxy of candidates for *ordination*, if true, would almost forbid us to impute to invincible ignorance their laxity in *institution*; or, in other words, almost compel us to think that, supposing them really to believe what they profess, they are habitually practising mortal sin.

And now then to consider the precedents so ingeniously attempted to be drawn from Catholic practice, whether mediæval or modern. Certainly I should be very far from denying, that the Church has at all times been even forward to make the very utmost concessions, consistent with the essentials of her faith and discipline, for the purpose of avoiding the fearful evils of persecution or schism. Far from denying this fact, I consider it as among the most glorious in her history : for what sacrifices, which principle allows, ought *not* to be made, if by them may be averted a state of things, in which *heroic fortitude* becomes absolutely necessary to salvation, and in which accordingly the poor weak souls who perish eternally may be counted by millions? But having fully admitted, or rather maintained, this, I would go on to beg our opponents to take any one fact in the whole Catholic history, whether of the middle or of modern ages, let it be as isolated, anomalous and obscure as they please ; and to say distinctly, whether by any possible ingenuity it can be so distorted, as to present even a momentary and colourable parallel to the state of things I have been lately describing ; a state of things too, which has been no accidental and temporary phenomenon, but has been the one consistent undeviating law of the Establishment, from the very Reformation to the present day.

I cannot but hope there are numbers, connected with the present high-church movement, who will not, with their eyes open, be mixed up with such an ecclesiastical organization. Yet such, let me repeat, has been most undoubtedly the organization of the Anglican Establishment, openly and consistently, during the whole period of its existence. The State itself may have approached more nearly to orthodoxy at one period than another ; but at no period has any bishop been allowed to act on any standard of orthodoxy, except the State's voice.

Give up your so called Catholic principles, if you have the heart. But in the name of common honesty do not profess to retain them, and yet look upon a body like the Establishment as being part of the Catholic Church. Whatever further may or may not be your duty, to renounce all allegiance to the Establishment is at least a plain and undeniable duty. And let me add, that it is by taking our first step *immediately* upon our conviction, that we shall have the best hope for God's guidance in taking our second step aright.

A LETTER

TO

THE EDITOR OF THE "GUARDIAN,"

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"ONE WORD ON THE EXISTING CONSTITUTION OF
THE ANGLICAN ESTABLISHMENT."



BURNS AND LAMBERT,
17, PORTMAN STREET, and 63, PATERNOSTER ROW.

—
1850.

A LETTER, &c.

SIR,

As the author of a short paper, "On the Existing Constitution of the Anglican Establishment," which has been made a subject of comment in a leading article of your last number, I know not that I should have been excited to the task of a reply, had you not in direct terms attacked my "honesty." "The writer," you say, "not being quite *honest* enough to say" something or other, has made "a silly compromise between his argument and his conscience." And the reason of this charge is, because I draw a contrast between the Anglican Establishment on the one hand, and "any branch of the Catholic Church, whether in mediæval or in modern times" on the other hand, with a silence, and, as you affirm, a disingenuous silence, on the subject of early times.

But surely I have a right to treat on one subject at a time; and the subject on which I did intend to treat, was on an allegation continually made by Anglican writers, and not least by yourself, that what you designate as the "Roman Church," has made, at various times, concessions to the civil power, no less ample than those made by your own Church. I was not treating of any other subject; such, *e. g.* as the contrariety between Anglicanism and primitive times: this is a separate question, and, for reasons which will presently appear, is more conveniently treated separately: indeed I may mention that I was at one time rather meditating a series of such short papers, one of which would have been occupied with that very question. But in the present instance I was not engaged in this task, but in another; in contrasting Anglicanism, not with the Church of primitive times, but with what you call "The Roman Church;" with a certain body, that is, which you consider to have overlaid the primitive truth with various corrupt additions of its own, and to which, on that ground, you refuse submission. Now at what period do you maintain this body, so conceived, to have come into existence? in the early ages? you indignantly repudiate such a notion; I appealed therefore, of course, to those periods of history, "the mediæval and modern," which you regard as being alone *concerned* with that Church.

Since, however, you have made such comments on my omission

of early times, I will not shrink from meeting you on that matter also, and showing how little possible reason I could have for evading the consideration of them. Not indeed that there is any necessity for *me* to do so; for the contrast between the Church system of those times and your own Church system, on the very point in hand, has been drawn by Mr. Keble himself, quite as strikingly as any Catholic could draw it. I allude to his letter in your pages, in which he frankly admits, that in primitive days, had an archbishop concurred in such a judgment as that lately delivered, the faithful would at once have withdrawn from his communion. Only try to conceive the very attempt at such a movement within your Church at present, and you will see, far more clearly than I could hope to describe, the radical contrariety between the two systems. However, I am quite ready, as you seem to wish it, to express the same thing from a Catholic point of view; premising, to make my meaning clear, two universally admitted principles of our Church.

A Catholic then, as you are aware, considers that those, and those only, belong, or ever have belonged, externally to the Visible Church of Christ, who are or have been at the time in communion with the See of Rome. Again, no Catholic in the world considers any tenet to be heretical, except one which would, on occasion, be so pronounced by the Holy Father. Now I challenge you to produce a single undisputed instance, from the reign of St. Peter to that of Pius IX, where any Pope, under whatever pressure of temporal difficulty, to whatever threats or whatever allurements he may have been exposed, has continued to hold communion with any one, king or subject, who has openly and wilfully maintained, what he or any of his predecessors had pronounced heresy. The continual stress laid by our opponents on particular isolated acts, such as that of Liberius, or the events consequent upon the fifth Ecumenical Council, very far as these facts are from bearing out their case, shews how impossible they find it to deny this proposition. But if there be no such instance, then it follows, that no Catholic has ever been obliged to remain in communion, even for a day, with any heretic, (even a layman, not to speak of a *bishop*,) known to be such. Remarkable contrast indeed to the condition of Anglican 'high-churchmen.'

I am not, however, at all unwilling to admit, if it is to be called an admission, that the same (as I should call it) purblind, narrow, one-sided way of reading the history of early times, which leads

some to deny the Papal supremacy as having been then in recognized and active energy throughout the Church, will lead them also to find in those times precedents in justification (not indeed of anything like the Anglican Establishment, but still) of much indefensible Erastianism. This is a fact which, though observed by many before, the recent discussions and publications of your Church have tended to place in the clearest possible light; and it is because some notice of it seemed indispensable to any fair argument founded on the history of those times, that I reserved the latter altogether for a separate discussion; and confined myself in my first paper to the mediæval and modern period. And I should not omit here to observe, on the marked testimony really borne by *yourself*, Sir, to the thesis which it was the object of my short paper to defend. For your complaint of my alluding to mediæval and modern times alone, and omitting the earlier, implies directly and of necessity that in your opinion it is *primâ facia* easier, to find precedents for extreme state interference, in the earlier than in the later period. But it is precisely at the later period that you consider the Pope's authority to have acquired a new and unprecedented extent; we have then, sir, your own most unsuspecting testimony, that in proportion as the Papal power has had influence, extreme concessions to the state have been diminished.

Let me now turn to consider the one instance you have adduced from later times, in refutation of my argument: and as you have taken as nearly as possible two months to answer my 'four octavo pages,' I am entitled to infer that it is the strongest instance which can readily be found. Now first bear in your remembrance the allegations I made against the position of a 'high churchman' in the Establishment. To speak generally, they were as follows. He finds himself in full communion with various persons, some of them bishops, who profess opinions which he regards as deadly heresies. I mentioned in addition to this anti-Baptismal heresy, Sabellianism, and the doubt of the reality of our Blessed Saviour's temptation; and I might easily have added almost indefinitely to the number, but these were sufficient. Not one of the bishops has ever so much as attempted to examine candidates for *institution*, as to how far they are implicated in such heresies, with the simple exception of Bishop Philpotts's late unsuccessful effort. And as to a bishop of your opinions, if he were once *bonâ fide* to attempt

purging his diocese of heterodoxy, so far as on your views he is by the laws of God absolutely *bound* to do, he would simply and without delay be ejected from your body. And such, I added, has been the organization of the Anglican Establishment, during the whole period of its existence.

Such was the allegation which I brought against the Anglican Establishment; and such is the state of things, which you profess to parallel from the practice of our own Church.

I had begged our opponents to "take any one fact in the whole Catholic history . . . let it be as isolated, anomalous and obscure as they please, and to say distinctly whether by any possible ingenuity it can be so distorted, as to present even a momentary and colourable parallel to" this state of things. You bring forward a fact as parallel. What does one expect? that you will name any local Church in communion with the Holy See, so swarming with persons whom *we* consider to be heretics, as you admit that the Anglican Establishment swarms with persons whom *you* consider such? No one of course is so simple as to expect so much as *that*. But your readers, I suppose, may have anticipated, that you would bring forward, from some dark and obscure corner of history, some one acknowledged heretic in full communion with some local Church, that Church herself being in communion with Rome, and Rome cognizant of the fact; or some one Pope who might have tolerated some one obscure heresy, condemned by some one of his predecessors. But what do they find? nothing of the sort even *alleged*. Baronius describes, with no sparing energy and with no tendency towards extenuation or concealment, a most miserable and detestable state of things undoubtedly; but as to heretics admitted to communion, or orthodox (on the ground of their orthodoxy) excluded from it, there is not the most distant allusion to such a thing.

The very circumstance that you can produce no stronger case than this, must convince all reasonable men of the truth of my original assertion, that there is no fact in Catholic history which "can by any possible ingenuity be so distorted, as to present even a momentary and colourable parallel" to your deplorable confusions.

Before proceeding, I should state, that I do not profess any such learning or critical power as would enable me to place before you, as my own, any special construction of the particulars which you

quote. My argument was grounded on facts—patent on the very surface of history—and so, on this matter, I am quite content to join issue on your own statement of the facts which you adduce. Baronius describes the King of Spain as pursuing a course the most pernicious, odious and tyrannical; but as to that special instance of tyranny which, in the case of the Anglican Church, was my one subject of comment,—as to any attempt (I say) on his part at claiming a power of decision in the last resort as to what is and what is not the doctrine of the Church, nothing of the kind is so much as hinted at. The only heretical doctrine which Baronius's words could even suggest, is a claim as of right to spiritual jurisdiction. But the very passages you quote make it plain (as any Catholic would be quite certain *à priori*) that he made no such claim: for, first, he grounded his whole conduct on alleged powers conferred by a former Pope's bull; and, secondly, even apart from this, the phrasology, *neque ipsam Apostolicam sedem recognoscere et habere superiorem, nisi in casu præventionis* (which latter words you do not translate, and of which, apart from the context, I do not profess to understand the precise meaning), would of itself make it pretty clear, that Baronius is speaking not of theoretical but practical recognition,—that he imputes to the King not a doctrinal denial, but a practical over-ruling, of the Pope's jurisdiction.

And here I must not omit to correct a most strange misconception of my meaning into which you have fallen, and which, I should have thought, even a slight degree of attention would have prevented. I had said that the readiness of the Church to make concessions where the law of God permits, rather than cause a schism, was among the most glorious of her history; and you most strangely suppose, that I consider not only the Church's concessions to be 'glorious,' but the State's aggressions to be 'glorious' also: and because Baronius adopts the most keen invective against the King of Spain, you quote him as an authority against my view of the general principle. Certainly, as regards many of those to whom the Church has from time to time been induced to make the largest concessions, the devout Catholic feels the deepest abhorrence for their most unchristian and oppressive tyranny; and in all cases he laments bitterly the many spiritual evils which result from the State's aggressions. Under such unhappy circumstances, to omit numberless other particulars, we often find a deep-seated

heretical spirit gaining ground among the people, which there is no power adequately to check, and which may any day break out into express and open heresy. It would indeed be absurd to call such phenomena 'glorious;' but it *is* a glorious fact in the Church's history, for the reasons I mentioned among others, that she tends always to stretch her long-suffering and forbearance to the utmost limit allowed by the law of God; and that the Holy Father will rather endure any amount of slights and humiliations, than place the souls committed to his charge in such frightful peril, as I described in a passage you quote. But I say also, that when actual *heresy* has displayed itself, there the law of God *does* interfere, and forbids further toleration. It can be no true portion of Christ's Church, which allows heretics to preach from her pulpits, or even to approach her sacraments. This is that very sin to which all along I have been drawing attention: that sin, from which the Church in communion with Rome has ever been undeniably free, but in whose mire, even according to *your own* ideas of heresy, your own Establishment has been plunged up to its neck from the first moment of its existence to the present. And the contrast is made still clearer, by the practical working of our respective principles. Should we, Catholics, in some most unusual case, suspect either priest or bishop of openly professing heresy, we should bring the case before the Holy Father, and believe of necessity, with an interior assent, the justice of his decision, whatever it may be. But you, when out of the numberless heresies of daily occurrence among you, it pleases you to single out one for protest, what can you do, except appeal to the law courts, and, failing them, assemble public meetings and raise a clamour? *We* are taught *by* our Church, but *you* feel it a duty to *teach* yours

There is one more particular in your article, which it is incumbent on me to notice. I had said that "every single bishop in the Establishment, intending to remain such, either on the one hand holds the Erastian heresy, or on the other hand is resolved on occasion to commit mortal sin." You reply that this is "a fallacy which answers itself," for that "a bishop may *intend* to remain in the Establishment, without having *determined* to remain in it under all possible contingencies." The italics are mine; but I apprehend your meaning to be that, though of course it is not *certain* that the law of the Establishment may not some time contra-

dict the law of God, yet that there is a reasonable *probability* of its never doing so; insomuch that a bishop may fairly be said to *intend* remaining in the Establishment, though he have *determined* to quit it in the event of such contradiction. I have taken pains to ascertain your meaning, and believe this to be it.

The very same number of the *Guardian* contained a notice of a certain address from the Bishop of Exeter to the churchwardens of Bampford Speke, which affords a very curious commentary on your sentiment. I quote, however, not from the abridgment of this address, for which alone you had room in your postscript, but from the address in *extenso* as we find it in the daily papers.

A bishop, on your view, receives the pastoral charge over his diocese immediately from Christ Himself. The Bishop of Exeter, therefore, who considers Mr. Gorham as a professed heretic, is bound (as I urged in my last letter), on pain of mortal sin, to warn those parishioners of Bampford Speke whom Christ has placed under his charge, to avoid all communion with the said Mr. Gorham, to flee from his ministrations, and seek orthodox teaching elsewhere. But what says the Bishop himself? "Shall I license some sound minister to reside among you and preach to you the pure Word of God?" Such seems the only straightforward course, one would think: but no. "Any minister," he says, "acting under such a license and officiating in your parish, *would offend against the law of the Church, and expose himself to censures.*" At least then the bishop will warn these poor Anglicans to avoid Mr. Gorham's ministrations, and go to the neighbouring parish churches? Hear the answer: "it would be *a presumptuous invasion of his*" (the heretic's) "*rights so to do: it would be schismatical to give such advice and schismatical to follow it.*" So that Bishop Philpotts, who "would be bound," he tells us, "to submit to every penalty rather than *himself* give Mr. Gorham institution," yet in the diocese which he claims as directly committed to his charge by Christ, tells the poor people it will be schismatical if they do not place themselves under the pastoral care of this open and intolerable heretic. And the reason he gives is, because the Archbishop is a party to the institution. Why, Mr. Editor, the very principles which you profess are, that within the limits of his own diocese a bishop is *supreme*; this is one of those especial doctrines, which "it is the glory of Anglicans to maintain against the usurping claims of Rome:" and yet see what

it comes to, when the especial occasion arises for acting in accordance with it. A bishop, in his own diocese, admits the command of an external bishop, as a dispensation from the law of God!

Nor does the absurdity end here. The contradictory of any heresy is of course an expressly revealed truth of God; and he who denies that a certain tenet *is* a heresy, denies that its contradictory *is* an expressly revealed truth of God. It is for this reason, of course, that in every age of the Church those who deny any heretical tenet to *be* heretical, have been accounted to be themselves as fully heretics, as though they themselves held the heretical tenet; and that, as Mr. Keble observes, in early ages, the faithful world have avoided the communion of any Archbishop in Dr. Sumner's position. Whether Dr. Sumner does or does not, as a matter of private opinion, agree with Mr. Gorham, he does not consider the contradictory of Mr. Gorham's tenet to be part of God's expressly revealed doctrine. Dr. Philpott's *does* believe it to be such, and therefore believes Dr. Sumner himself to be heretical. Nay, I suppose for that reason, he has expressly renounced communion, by anticipation, with any one who should institute Mr. Gorham. Yet this very Archbishop, whom he is bound to consider a heretic, and with whom he has renounced communion, is at the very same time invested by him with power, to supersede his own most primary and sacred duties, in that diocese, which he holds (as he maintains) directly from Christ, and independently of any even the most orthodox Archbishop in the world.

You will say perhaps, that at least these doctrinal disputes, carried to such an extent, are but rare exceptions in your Church: but I answer, as I did before, that the reason of this is, because universally the bishops of your Church have either not held *your* opinions, or not acted on them. For consider. Such tenets as the following, which I mention merely as samples of a great number, you will not deny to be heretical. 1, That Holy Communion is no more than a mere sign or symbol; 2, that several clauses in the Athanasian Creed are unmeaning subtleties; 3, that original sin is not actually *imputed* to children born into the world, but is only an 'infection of their nature'; 4, that glory hereafter is not in each case proportioned to the holiness respectively attained here. Nor again will you deny that such tenets are held even by clergymen (for I will pass over laymen,) in every English diocese. What is the duty then incumbent by

the law of God on any bishop who may hold *your* principles? So much at least; viz. carefully to examine all candidates for *institution* as well as ordination, and peremptorily to refuse institution to all whom he may find sullied with such heresies. Appeal would follow to the law courts. Do you suppose that your bishop would have the slightest chance of succeeding there? Is there a single doctrine held by you, on which you could come before the courts with one quarter of the ground to stand on, which you had in the Gorham case? The bishop then must either institute these men, or leave the Establishment. If the former, he commits mortal sin; if the latter, as he is still (on his principles) by the law of God bishop of the diocese, he is bound to summon all the faithful of the diocese, under pain of damnation, to leave the Establishment also and cleave to him as to their bishop.

It is surely doubtful whether a person holding opinions which bind him to such proceedings as these, could honestly accept 'consecration' in the Establishment, without having first made the clearest possible explanation of his views. But so much as this at least is quite certain, that a bishop who should hold principles which bind him to such a course, if an honest man, could not be said to *intend* remaining in the Establishment; and that I was justified to the letter in my original assertion, that 'every single bishop of the Establishment, intending to remain such, either on the one hand holds the Erastian hersey, or on the other hand is resolved on occasion to commit mortal sin.' I repeat, if your Church has hitherto been free from violent conflict, it is either because no one of your bishops has held your principles, or else because any one who has ever held them, has pursued a line of conduct, which, *on* those principles, is mortal sin.

I am sorry to have been led to such length. As it is, I have omitted many things I wished to say, and abridged many others.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

N. N.

August 26th, 1850.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the foregoing letter has been in the printer's hands, I have seen in due course the following number of the *Guardian*, and observe that you continue the same theme. Since, however, your remarks of to-day have little direct reference to my original paper, I will but point out that every observation which falls from you makes it clearer, how impossible it is to refute my original assertion. My allegation concerned the constant *admission and toleration of open heresy*, admitted by yourself to be such, within your Establishment; and you answer, by adducing proof of "the visible or apparent dissolution of *Catholic power and holiness*," which from time to time has been exhibited within the Catholic Church: as though any Catholic in his senses could have dreamt of denying such a thing, or could have been ignorant or unmindful of such very common-places in controversy, as the scandalous history of the infamous Marozia, which you quote.

It does not surely need proving to *you*, that the prevalence of *immorality* within the Church is a totally and incomparably different phenomenon from the prevalence of *heresy* within her, in its bearing on the notes of her divinity. *You*, I say, have not to learn this, for you profess yourself a disciple of the early Church; and you will not doubt that, in the early Church just as in the later, ten thousand persons who should never think of their Baptism, and should never worship Christ, would not have produced one-hundredth part of the excitement and protest which would have been caused by even one man of otherwise blameless life, who should, as a matter of doctrine, *deny* Baptismal Regeneration or Christ's Divinity. It is your affair, as much as mine, to stand up in defence of this general principle; to point out how that, even in the merely temporal order of things, one single educated and sane man, who should deliberately and publicly profess the universal lawfulness of murder, would excite incomparably greater alarm and consternation than a thousand murderers; and that the case becomes far stronger in the case of the Catholic Church, whose absolutely indispensable duty it is, to teach her subjects true doctrines on the various questions of faith and morals.

How in the world then do the facts you specify interfere with the Catholic habit, of "looking to the Roman See as the supreme

defender and asserter of Christian morality, the unerring guide, the immoveable rock on which the faith stands, and to which those who are in perplexity are to look for strength and comfort?" In one brief and most calamitous period especially, unhappy men, in possession of St. Peter's chair, have been profligates and adulterers: but have they ever taught, or dreamed of teaching, *ex cathedrâ*, that profligacy and adultery are other than abominable sins? It is the Church's office to hold up distinctly before her children the principles of faith and morality, that they may be guided in their course heavenwards; and a body, therefore, which habitually admits professed heretics into its pulpits, would, in no age, have been accounted part of the Catholic Church, because it does not fulfil this office. But the past existence of such sins as you record in the occupants of St. Peter's See, only places in stronger light the supernatural guidance extended to that See: for it is a fact which has continually been remarked in controversy, and which is such, one would have thought, as forcibly to arrest the attention of the most careless or the most prejudiced, that these very Popes have never promulgated a decision either on faith or morals, which has been so much as called in question.

I am very much tempted to comment on other parts of your present article; but on the whole think it better, both now and hereafter, in whatever I may address to you, to confine myself to those of your observations alone, which are directed against the simple argument contained in my original paper. I am quite convinced, that the more closely this argument is sifted, the more persuasive will it be found to all humble and Catholic-minded enquirers after truth.

I will add no more then, except to draw your readers' attention to the circumstance, that Mr. Foulkes, in your last number, deposes to the very fact which I had inferred; viz., that in the case of "The Sicilian Monarchy," the king laid no claim to spiritual jurisdiction, except on the ground of delegation from the Pope.

August 29th, 1850.

THE
ANGLICAN ESTABLISHMENT

CONTRASTED,

IN EVERY PRINCIPLE OF ITS CONSTITUTION,

WITH

The Church Catholic of every Age.

BEING

A SECOND LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE "GUARDIAN:"

WITH

STRICTURES ON THE ARTICLES IN THAT JOURNAL ENTITLED
"ANGLO-ROMANISM."



BY WILLIAM GEORGE WARD,

AUTHOR OF

"ONE WORD ON THE EXISTING CONSTITUTION OF THE ANGLICAN ESTABLISHMENT."

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	V
<small>SECT.</small>	
I. State of the Controversy	1
II. Personal explanation	2
III. Contrast between the Anglican Establishment and the Catholic Church of every age, in the absence from the former of all security for Orthodox Doctrine	10
IV. Practical Corruptions of Doctrine within the Establishment, from the Reformation downwards	23
V. Contrast between the Anglican Establishment and the Catholic Church of every age, in the nature of its Episcopal Constitution	51
VI. Infallibility an essential attribute of the Catholic Church in every age	57
VII. On the holiness of the Church, and the admixture of Evil men with Good within her pale	83
VIII. Papal Infallibility	120
IX. Practical conclusion	135
POSTSCRIPT, in reply to the Guardian's concluding Article	140

P R E F A C E.

THE following Letter was begun, and mostly written, before the late excitement on Catholic subjects ; and it will (I suppose) appear very tame and insipid at the present time, as being on an argument wholly distinct from this question of the Hierarchy. However, it seemed better to publish it, since it was written ; and possibly too the state itself of the public mind may lead some to look at Catholic works, who would not otherwise do so. At all events, the class (large or small) for whom it was immediately intended, and which was directly addressed by those articles in the *Guardian* referred to throughout,—those Anglicans, namely, who hold what they consider Catholic principles, and have entertained misgivings, more or less serious, as to the Catholicity of their Church,—these are not likely to be *more* satisfied and at rest in their position, in consequence of the phenomena which we see around us.

It cannot indeed but produce a strong impression on the mind of every reflecting person, to observe the position now taken up by the Establishment. Controversialists spin out theories (very poor ones, by the way) in their closet, as to the spiritual independence of Anglican Bishops, and circulate and sign declarations against the Queen's Ecclesiastical Supremacy in their Church ; but when it comes to the excitement and stir of action, how ludicrously unreal and inoperative are such theories ! The Queen's Spiritual Supremacy is resorted to by an irresistible instinct, as the real antagonist to the Pope's ; and the Establishment is found making com-

mon cause with Dissenters, in more than one case even with Jews, in opposition to that Church, which, some Anglicans would have us believe, is regarded by their own as a sister and a co-ordinate “branch.”

Another consideration is in point. The *Guardian*, and other periodicals of the same party, have not unfrequently twitted us English Catholics with the chimerical and hopeless nature of the enterprise which they attribute to us, that of converting England. Now in reality nothing can be more absurd than to imagine, that the fact of Catholics aiming, wherever they are able, at *conversions*, is any proof that we regard the conversion of all England as a humanly probable event. Some indeed may think so, and some may think otherwise: but I do not see how it is possible for *any one* to feel a deep and sure conviction of enjoying the truth, the one exclusive truth, without being anxious that as many as possible should be in the same happy position. Accordingly, “Evangelicals” (to their honour) are as anxious to convert *us*, as we to convert *them*. But at all events, whether our numbers are likely to increase or otherwise, at least we have not the task before us of converting *our own Church*. With us, to be a member of the Catholic Church is to be a Catholic. But the party against whom I am writing, so far from being in a position to twit *us*, have a far more up-hill game to play *themselves*; —they have first to convert *their own fellow-Churchmen* to what they believe to be the true Faith. And this initiatory task alone is (to say the least) fully as hopeless and chimerical, to judge merely by appearances and human probabilities, as our *entire* work. Few people indeed who read the daily papers will doubt, that it is even less difficult to turn *England* into a *Catholic country*, than the *Establishment* into a “*Tractarian*” Church.

The present Letter, however, as I said, is wholly irrespective of such questions. It originated in the circumstance, that I put out in the course of last July a short *brochure*, of "four octavo pages" (as the *Guardian* somewhat contemptuously remarked), with the view of shewing Anglican "high-churchmen," (what they seemed to me strangely blind to,) the real nature of their Church's constitution; how that with them, ever since the Reformation, the civil magistrate and the civil courts have been, as a plain matter of fact, the sole judges of doctrine in the last resort. I had it in my mind to publish some other such little papers: but for various reasons, did not carry out my intention; partly indeed because I did not find that my first had attracted any notice.

Two months afterwards, to my extreme surprise, I found an article in the *Guardian*, drawing attention to this paper of mine, and censuring it in the severest terms. This led me to address a brief letter to the Editor, which he, in reviewing, did not admit as a satisfactory reply. I then thought, on the whole, that it might be better, once for all, to put into shape the whole line of reasoning which I had intended to run through in my projected *brochures*, and at the same time to notice the chief controversial topics recently urged against us by Anglican "high-churchmen;" with the hope that some at least in their number might find certain of their difficulties solved, or certain of the arguments urged in favour of their position demolished. And as the *Guardian* was still pursuing its series of articles addressed to the very same class, I thought it natural to include *them* in my remarks.

The latter part of my plan has led me into much greater length than I intended; for the (to me) very astonishing line taken up by that newspaper, in regard

to the admixture of *evil men* in the Catholic Church, made it necessary very much to enlarge the sixth section of this Letter, and entirely to add the seventh. The sixth article of his series appeared as I was nearly concluding; but it will be found fully answered in a note at p. 101. The seventh and concluding one did not come out till I was actually at press; but I have added a Postscript to give so much reply as seemed necessary.

It will be seen, by this statement, that I have taken for granted all through, as a basis for my argument, the principles professed by "high-church" Anglicans; and that this Letter therefore has no force as an argument, if addressed to a different class. From this, however, I may except the sixth section; which, as being directly founded on Scripture, has some claim perhaps to be considered by professing Christians of all denominations.

Those readers who are not specially interested in the controversy between the *Guardian* and myself on the subject of my personal veracity, had better omit from p. 3 to p. 7: which they will find quite uninteresting.

On looking over the sheets, I think it advisable, under present circumstances, to point out, (what indeed the most ordinary attention to the context will sufficiently shew,) that all which I have written, from p. 16 to p. 22, on the relations between the Pope and the civil magistrate, refers to *spiritual matters alone*; such as the appointment of Bishops, parcelling out dioceses, setting on foot ecclesiastical measures, &c. The question of *temporals*, as will be at once seen, does not bear ever so remotely on my subject.

TO

THE EDITOR OF THE "GUARDIAN."

SIR,

I have reason, in many important respects, to be very well satisfied, with the effect produced upon your tone and line of argument by my former letter. My original little *brochure* was in no special way addressed to yourself; however, you put forth an unfavourable criticism on it, and that couched in a very confident and triumphant tone. There is not one argument, urged by you in that article, which I did not meet in my former letter; and now let us see, how far you even profess to maintain the aggressive ground, which you originally assumed.

In my original paper, I had "begged my opponents to take any one fact in the whole Catholic history, whether of the middle or of modern ages,—let it be as isolated, anomalous, and obscure as they please,—and to say distinctly whether, by any possible ingenuity, it can be so distorted, as to present even a momentary and colourable parallel" to your deplorable confusions. After two months' interval, you came forward with your instance; and maintained that, even on the version of it most favourable to our cause, our "only mode of escape" from its force "would be by declaring broadly, that what was wrong in the English Church was right in the Roman; or, in other words, by boldly begging the question at issue." I proved to you in my reply, that so far from this being the case, the facts you adduced did not present the faintest or most distant resemblance, to that class of facts in your Church on which I was commenting; and what is your rejoinder? "The contest," you answer, "can only be kept up either by sweeping assertions," as you represent mine to be, "which may or may not be true, or by the statement of specific facts like those adduced by" yourself; "which, besides the possibility of inaccuracy, *may or may not* be fair instances of the general truths which they profess to illus-

trate." In other words, you decline saying a word more, for the applicability of that one antagonist precedent, which a two months' search enabled you to discover; and thus you "unostentatiously" yield me the victory. Nor does your remark upon "sweeping assertions" avail you in mitigation. Such "sweeping assertions" are no doubt very hazardous, where one is not thoroughly convinced of the truth of one's cause; but in that very proportion are they conclusive, where their accuracy is made manifest. And for the accuracy of mine there can be no better guarantee, than that, three months ago, I challenged the production of even one exceptional instance; and that the only one which was attempted, has been at once withdrawn.

On the main argument of my original paper, my victory is even more decided. I professed to shew, by plain undeniable facts connected with the constitution of your Church, that "every single bishop of the Establishment, intending to remain such, either on the one hand holds the Erastian heresy; or, on the other hand, is resolved on occasion to commit mortal sin." Your first article characterised this argument of mine as "a fallacy which, in fact, answers itself;" and I applied myself accordingly, in my former letter, to make still clearer the grounds of my assertion. What is your *present* view of that assertion? "We wish," you say, "*fully to acknowledge, that a very weak point of the English Church is there exhibited, with exaggeration indeed, but with force.*" Comment is superfluous.

Another, and a still more important—I cannot call it *admission*, for I absolutely and altogether dissent from it; but—opinion has (not indeed been elicited from you by my letter, but has) served as a basis to both your articles. For whereas my distinct allegation against the Anglican Establishment was, 1st, that, "at no period, from the Reformation downwards, has any bishop been allowed to act on any standard of orthodoxy except the State's voice;" and 2d, that there is no precedent for such a state of things in all Catholic history;—you complained, in so many words, in your first article, that while I *appeared* to claim *all* Catholic history as opposed to such a constitution, I *really* "accepted only the history of the Catholic Church *after it had well become Roman;*" and you added that, for my purpose, "the

contemporaries of Constantine, Theodosius, or Justinian, might be unpleasant witnesses." In other words, you maintained that *a reception of the State's voice as the sole standard of orthodoxy* is a principle *more opposed* to the usages of the "Roman Church" in later times, than of the "contemporaries of Constantine, Theodosius, or Justinian" in the earlier period. I cannot doubt that this is your deliberate opinion, because it is the sole support for a charge of dishonesty, which you have maintained against me for more than two months past; and I cannot attribute to you the guilt of founding so grave a charge, on grounds which you have not very carefully weighed. But if it *be* your deliberate opinion, I must consider that you have acted most ungenerously and inequitably, in so long suppressing it. An opinion so unspeakably honourable to the Holy See, has been buried within your own breast on those numberless occasions, when you have been engaged in disparaging and censuring that See; and has found expression only, when it seemed to give an opportunity for branding an individual Catholic with a serious charge.

II. But while I have been thus successful in eliciting from you sentiments favourable to my general argument, I regret to say, that your imputations on my personal integrity are repeated in even stronger terms. You had accused me before, of not being "honest enough" to say what I should have said, and of "making a silly compromise between my argument and my conscience." But you now assert, that "my statement is grossly and palpably untrue;" and "leave your readers to judge for themselves *how far the untruth is deliberate.*" This renewed and enlarged imputation of dishonesty affords one great reason, among others, why it is perhaps better to put my name to the present publication. From some expressions in your original article, I infer that you attributed the authorship of the paper which you were criticising, to some more recent convert than myself; and it is only fair that the full blame should fall on the right shoulders. But to me it is quite astonishing, that any one should think as you do, who has read with any care my two previous papers, and who has any, even ordinary, acquaintance with the principles professed by your party.

In my original paper, the whole stress was laid, not on his-

torical considerations, but on plain matters of fact connected with your Establishment. The title was, "One word *on the actual constitution of the Anglican Establishment;*" and of my "four octavo pages," fully two and a half were occupied with a detailed criticism on the constitution of the Establishment, while only half a page contained any allusion to history at all. The remaining two half pages were, on the one hand, a concluding exhortation; and, on the other hand, an introductory paragraph, in which I expressly say, "in this short *brochure* I shall enter into a previous inquiry, the result of which *may make further argument on mere historical details unnecessary*. I shall inquire *what is the actual constitution of the Anglican Establishment.*"

The conclusion to which I came, as already quoted, was this: that "at no period," since the Reformation, in your Establishment, "has any bishop been allowed to act on any standard of orthodoxy except the State's voice." This conclusion I was fully prepared, in case my little paper should attract any notice, to find called in question, and pulled to pieces, in every possible way. But there was one thing for which I certainly was *not* prepared; viz. to find the truth of it, even for argument's sake, admitted by a member of your party, and a *justification* attempted. That a professed disciple of the early Church, should say simply, and without disguise, that "the contemporaries of Constantine, Theodosius, or Justinian," *i. e.* St. Athanasius, St. Leo, St. Gregory, "might be unpleasant witnesses," if called on to testify against the erection of "the State's voice" into the "sole standard of orthodoxy;"—this, certainly, is an unexpected phenomenon. So far from carefully adjusting my words with the view of *eluding* such a comparison, the very notion of its being attempted never entered my mind. Surely, if there is one thing in the world which may be taken for granted, it is, that professed disciples of the early Church, and members of the movement of 1833, are zealous for the principle of ecclesiastical independence; and that I have overthrown all claim of the Anglican Church on *their* allegiance, if I have shewn them that the sole doctrinal standard in that Church is the State's voice. Father Newman points out in his recent lectures, that "the idea or first principle of the movement of 1833 was ecclesiastical liberty; the doctrine it

especially opposed was, in ecclesiastical language, the heresy of Erastus, and in political, the royal supremacy. . . . The independence of the Church is almost the one subject of three out of four volumes of Mr. Froude's *Remains*; it is, in one shape or other, the prevailing subject of the earlier *Tracts for the Times*" (pp. 85, 6).

The state of opinion to which I addressed my original paper, and which I considered to be that of Anglican "high-churchmen" in general, was such as the following: that a much larger measure of ecclesiastical independence than now exists in the Establishment, both is abstractedly very desirable, and, in point of fact, was enjoyed by the early Church; but that the modern Church, whether Anglican or Roman, has been led by circumstances to abandon much, which had better have been retained; yet not, on the other hand, so much, as to destroy the *essence* of either Church. This was the ground taken by yourself, sir, if I rightly remember, on the occasion of Dr. Hampden's nomination to a bishopric, and the events which followed; you cited, namely, a fact from the history of the French Church, which you represented as still more grossly inconsistent with ecclesiastical principle. And this has been also alleged during the present controversy, by Mr. Irons of Brompton; who maintains, that the Reformation was distinctly a movement *towards* ecclesiastical independence: nor has his pamphlet, to my knowledge, been repudiated, either by yourself or by any other member of your party. I considered this general opinion to be founded, partly on great misconception as to the *sort* of concessions made at various times by the Roman Church, but very much more on the strangest obliquity of vision, in regard to the actual constitution of the Anglican Church. And it was to the latter misconception especially, as both the title and the contents of my paper prove, that I addressed my observations. I laboured to shew, what was the *real nature* of those concessions to the State which were made at the Reformation; and how absolutely incommensurable they are, with those made, whether in mediæval or in modern times, by the Catholic Church.

I took for granted, it is true, that in its *earlier* days, the Catholic Church had never made any concessions in the remotest

degree analogous to those which I was describing. I took this for granted, because it was a matter, which no one of any party, that I ever heard of, even thought of doubting; seeing that the world in general is so far acquainted, with the outlines at least of that portion of history, as to see the absurdity of imagining, that bishops *then* “were not allowed” by the Church’s constitution, “to act on any standard of orthodoxy except the State’s voice.” And I took this proposition for granted especially, because those, whom I was addressing, were the very persons of all others who have been ever eager in *maintaining* it. It is true, indeed, that during the last controversy, two writers of that party (Dr. Pusey, and the author of an article in the *Christian Remembrancer* of last April,) have pointed out, that great apparent claims of spiritual authority were made by those whom you mention, Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian; but do those very writers, as you seem to fancy, imply ever so distantly, that these claims were *greater* than those made by temporal sovereigns in mediæval and modern times? So far from it, the last-named writer lays fully as much stress on the precedents of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror, as on those of Theodosius and Justinian; and says (p. 507), that the *strongest case of all* is to be found “in *the whole history of the French Church, from the time of the great western schism to Napoleon.*” So that, instead of my shirking (as you imply) the most formidable cases of objection, my challenge most expressly includes those precedents, which your own chosen advocate considers the strongest.

I repeat, if it be not certain that the whole spirit of the early Church was energetically opposed to the very idea of accepting “the State’s voice as the sole standard of orthodoxy,” I know not any one fact of history which *is* certain. You yourself, sir, admit this as strongly as I can do; and the very two writers I have just been mentioning earnestly maintain it. But I do think, some facts which they adduce would lead to an opposite conclusion, unless they are taken in connexion with another fact, equally certain and equally plain, which, however, they are unwilling to admit; viz. the Pope’s Supremacy in that same period. This sentiment of mine I shall, without delay, proceed to illustrate; but the preceding observations make it sufficiently clear, why I was

not able actually to say, *totidem verbis*, "that there is no fact" in the *early* ages "which, by any possible ingenuity, can be so distorted as to present a momentary and colourable parallel" to the Anglican Establishment. Deny the Pope's Supremacy, as you deny it, and the thing is done; but in like manner, if any were bold enough (and it would be no whit more bold) to deny that the Pope's Supremacy existed in the *middle* ages, there would likewise be *mediæval* precedents enough for something like the Anglican Erastianism. But to make all this clear, required the entering into a completely different subject; and it seemed, therefore, the most convenient arrangement, to devote my first paper to the task of setting forth the real nature of the Anglican supremacy; and to challenge comparison with the alleged parallels, so often, and yet so beyond words unreasonably, adduced from the "mediæval and modern" Church. Nor, be it observed, should I, in the following paper, have devoted a moment to the task of *proving*, that the early Church would have rejected, with deepest indignation, the principle which I had imputed to the Anglican Establishment. Rather, assuming this as too plain to require proof, and uniting it with the facts quoted by the above-named writers, I should have constructed an argument (and I think an extremely strong one,) in proof of the universal recognition, at that period, of the Roman supremacy.

I should have made this much clearer in my first letter; but it unfortunately takes many words to explain, as I fear my readers have found to their cost; and in my previous letter I was perhaps over-studious of brevity. I had begun, in that letter, to put down what I have here been stating; but finding the length to which my observations were proceeding, I erased them, in the hope that what I had already said would be sufficient. That it was *not* found sufficient, must be my apology for troubling the public at so great length on a matter merely personal.

Before leaving, however, these personal matters, I will not omit to notice an epithet applied by you to my original paper; which you call "bitterly aggressive" in its tone. So far as this is meant unfavourably, it is intended possibly to imply, what I have seen more expressly urged in some quarters, a complaint,

namely, that Catholics do not sufficiently sympathise with your friends, in their struggle for what we, no less than you, regard as essential truths. If this be so, I can only say, that it is one thing to recognise, with sincere respect, much that is right in its principle, and admirable in its energy, and exalted in its devotedness and piety, in the efforts of your party; and quite another thing, to feel the very slightest sympathy or regard for the cause itself, to which these high qualities are devoted; I should rather say, on which they are wasted and thrown away. There are many particulars, in the sayings and doings of your friends, which, I fully admit, are worthy of all praise and admiration; many, on the other hand, candour obliges me to add, which, for my own part, I cannot read or hear of, without an involuntary feeling of disgust and alienation. But while my feeling towards individuals is a mixed one, my feeling towards their cause is quite *unmixed*.

It is, indeed, rather strange, that any of your party should *make* such a comment; for what are you yourselves doing in the whole struggle, except opposing a class of men, with whom you have much in common? You sympathise with the “Evangelicals,” in their denunciations of worldliness, in their reverence for Holy Scripture, in the ministerial zeal for which many of them are distinguished. Why do you oppose them, then, and press for a decision, which must exclude all the honest and consistent of their number from the ministry of your Establishment? “Because truth is sacred, and admits no compromise.” Allow us, then, to feel the same; for taking the matter on its most superficial ground, and counting explicit doctrines one by one, we are as far removed from you as you from them.

The main reason, indeed, why any Catholic should be anxious that “high churchmen” awake from their dream of security, is the imminent peril to their soul which that dream involves. But looking abroad, looking forth from the individual soul to the course of events on a large scale, how can we wish well to the present efforts of your party? As regards the uneducated,—nay, and the commercial and trading classes,—I firmly hold, that it is absolutely hopeless, by any machinery with which the Establishment can supply you, to indoctrinate them with even

that small amount of dogmatic truth, which you hold yourselves ; and at the same time, for want of belief in the divine obligation of Confession, souls in those classes are perishing by millions. I believe further, that even those true doctrines which you hold, in the case of numbers among you, and as the natural result of your system, (however counteracted, I hope, in many, yet exceptional, cases) are almost as though they were not believed at all ; as being believed on so unchristian a principle. I hold, that this principle itself, the principle, namely, of individual inference from the records of Antiquity, leads, as a principle, by natural (though, I hope, often counteracted) consequence, to an arrogant and critical temper of mind, the very opposite to that child-like spirit enforced by the Gospel ; and results too, as a matter of fact,—not in men really surrendering themselves the spirit of Antiquity, which would very soon lead them on to Catholicism ; but in their picking and choosing for themselves, according to their bias or the necessities of their position, which doctrine of Antiquity they shall retain as essential, which they shall discard as mere matter of opinion. I hold, that several heresies, against which you cannot venture to make a stand as being forbidden by your Church, such, for instance, as Justification by Faith only, are more fundamentally destructive of the Christian character, than is that anti-baptismal heresy against which you are contending. I hold, that numbers of those who join you in the present movement, are to the full, in the whole complexion of their doctrines, as opposed to the spirit of Antiquity, as the Evangelicals themselves are, or as the wildest latitudinarians. Nay, in one respect, I hold that the “ Evangelicals,” as a body, are nearer the truth than your party, as a body ; I mean, in their encouragement of a temper of personal and fervent love for our Adorable Saviour. I admit exceptions to this statement, in the case of one or two eminent men in particular, whose names will readily occur to you ; but the tone adopted by your party as a whole, in regard to Catholic devotions, *e. g.* towards the Five Wounds, or the Precious Blood, or the Sacred Heart, will explain what I mean. And I think, too, that the spirit of your Prayer-book, which is the very model you propose whereon to form the inward life, and which one

of your greatest names has expressly praised as being "sober,"—I say the spirit of your Prayer-book is, in my judgment, eminently opposed to, what one may call, a personal and affectionate habit of religion.

I am neither expecting you to agree with these opinions of mine without proof, nor yet professing to prove them; I merely say, that *if* any one holds them, you cannot be surprised that he views your movement with no sort of sympathy, except so far as it may be the means of opening the eyes, first of one, and next of another, as to the empty pretentiousness of your claims to Catholicity. The Establishment, *as* an Establishment, appears to me in many ways of great service; your movement within the Establishment, so far as it draws forth aspirations which must look to the Catholic Church for gratification, is of still more obvious service; but the attempt to force on the Establishment those doctrines which you consider Catholic, as *the* doctrines of that body, I cannot but regard as, not only unjust and even impudent in itself, but most assuredly vain in reference to any effective result.

I hope you will pardon me this digression, so far as it is to be called such; but the charge which I have been meeting is really of so very severe a character, (being, indeed, no less than that of dealing with religious argument in the spirit of party, rather than of love for, and sympathy with, truth), that before proceeding with the aggressive line marked out by my original paper, it seemed due to the cause of truth itself to make such an explanation.

III. I proceed now to enlarge on the proposition, which was implied indeed, but not dwelt upon, in my original paper: I mean, that no branch of the Catholic Church has ever, or any where, been subject to the civil magistrate, in the sense in which your Establishment is subject to him; or in such sense, as not to retain the most ample security for doctrinal orthodoxy. And first, to defend the allegation which I was just now led to make. I affirm then, that various facts adduced, whether by Dr. Pusey or by the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer*, would lead to a conclusion, which those writers themselves would be the first to disavow, unless taken in connexion with the doctrine of the

Pope's Supremacy; from which circumstance I infer against them, that the Pope's Supremacy was universally recognised, even as a first principle, in those early times.

A few words will shew this. But I may as well introduce the subject, by a quotation from an article ascribed to Mr. Keble, and written more than ten years ago: which I cite, not for the purpose of proving what no one denies, but of recalling to the reader's mind the undoubted phenomena of the fourth and fifth centuries.

Let us "turn back the mind's eye," says he, "towards the days when the kings and rulers of the world first began to appreciate this highest part of their calling. St. Paul had taught Christians, from the first, that even heathen princes were *leitργοι*, 'ministers of God to His people for good:' and when they came themselves to be Christians, it never entered their minds that the true and eternal good was the one interest of their people, with which they were never to busy themselves. On the contrary, the very word *leitργος* suggested to them, as the word minister naturally might to us, the notion of their being, though of course not literally as priests, yet in some analogous way, called to wait on God in His Church; and the prophet's word, 'nursing-fathers,' would at once inform them what that office was. They would well understand that in spiritual matters they were to execute the laws of Christ's Church, not impose laws upon her; except it be the office of a nurse to give directions to a parent, and not rather receive instructions how the child ought to be managed. The strength of this impression on their minds, will account for such anecdotes, as that of Constantine refusing to take his seat at the Council of Nice, until he was requested by the bishops to do so; and again, declining to receive an appeal, when tendered by Donatists in an ecclesiastical cause; and also for that remarkable expression, so different from the tone encouraged by the modern doctrine of legal supremacy, in his promulgation of the Nicene Decrees; 'By the suggestion of God, I called together to Nice the greater part of the bishops, with whom, *as one of you, I, your fellow-servant,*' the fellow-servant of ordinary lay-men, '*and rejoicing above measure to be so,* did myself undertake the task of examining the truth.' These and the other incidents of the same era, commonly appealed to by writers on this subject, such as Hosius and St. Hilary's demurring to the sentence of Constantius; St. Ambrose's resistance to Valentinian and his officers; and excommunication of Theodosius; St. Basil's refusal

to alter the Church formularies, though it might bring Valens into Church communion; and still more than the incidents themselves, the manner in which such sacerdotal boldness was received by the several emperors, and the tone in which it is related by contemporary writers (some of them of the highest authority, St. Athanasius, for instance, and St. Gregory Nazianzen), are sufficient indications, not perhaps of any formal compact, such as some appear to dream of, between the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, but of something yet more striking and authoritative,—a general consent in the early Christian world, as to the meaning of what Scripture teaches concerning the office of kings in the Church. The notion of nursing-fathers—confidential servants entrusted to bring up her children according to her laws—runs through the whole, and accounts for each particular. The voice of the Church was, ‘We call Christian emperors happy, if they make their power a handmaid to the majesty of God, for no purpose so much as the propagation of His true religion and worship.’ And again: ‘Whereas it is written, *‘The sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee;’* it may be that by kings he means here literally those who are crowned with the highest honours, and sway the sceptre of royalty, who also are ministers of the Church: *now ministering in this place signifies obedience.*’ The whole doctrine was, and we believe still is, significantly taught in many parts of the Christian world, by the custom which prevails of the Sovereign at solemn coronations wearing a deacon’s habit, or part of it, under his robes of state; thereby acknowledging himself a servant of the Church, whose anointing and blessing he has just received, and bound to wait on and guard her bishops and priests, somewhat as a deacon should, in their holy offices, and again (which is another part of the diaconate), to take care that the Church’s children generally be duly taught, and warned of their own part in the service.”—*British Critic* for October, 1839, pp. 375-6.

No one of course doubts, that great numbers of Eastern bishops were, at various times, disposed, as to the Arian, Nestorian, and Eutychian heresies, so, and in the same proportion, to what was in later times called the Erastian, also; but I am certainly entitled to take for granted, nor do I for a moment doubt your full concurrence, that a body of bishops, who were in full communion with the Catholic Church, were (externally at least) free from one and all of these heresies, and would have at once

peremptorily repudiated the principle of accepting the Emperor as their authoritative instructor in the truths of religion.

Now, take such passages as the following :

“ We will that all people, whom the power of our clemency rules, should live in that religion which, &c. . . . that is, that according to Apostolic discipline and Evangelical doctrine, we believe one God-head of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in an Equal Majesty and in a Merciful Trinity. *We command* that, following this law, *they take the name of Catholic Christians; adjudging the rest* senseless and mad, *to bear the infamy of heretical doctrine*, and to be punished.”—*Law of Gratian and Theodosius.**

“ Further, we decree, that those who abet the impious opinion of Nestorius, or follow his abominable doctrine, if they are bishops or clerks, be cast forth from the Churches ; if laymen, be anathematised, according to what has been already established by our Divinity. . . .

“ But whereas it has come to our pious ears, that certain have composed certain doctrines, and have published such, being ambiguous, and not in all things and exactly agreeing with the orthodox faith propounded by the holy synod of those holy Fathers who assembled at Nicæa and Ephesus, and by Cyril of pious memory, who was Bishop of the great city of Alexandria, we order that all such writings, whether composed before or now, be burnt and utterly destroyed, &c. And henceforth no one is at liberty either to say or to teach any thing beyond the faith set forth, as well at Nicæa as at Ephesus ; and the transgressors of *this our divine precept* shall be subject to the same penalty decreed against the impious faith of Nestorius. But that all may learn in very deed how much our Divinity abhors those who follow the impious faith of Nestorius, we command that Irenæus, formerly under our displeasure for this cause, and afterwards, after second marriage (as we have learnt), contrary to the Apostolic Canon, made Bishop of Tyre, be deprived (*dejici*) of the Church of Tyre, and do abide in his own country in quiet, divested of the character and name of a priest. . . .

“ We wish your Holiness to know every thing which relates to the state of the Church. We have, therefore, thought it necessary to address these divine words to your Holiness, and thereby explain to you the measures which have been set on foot, though we are persuaded that you are acquainted with them. Finding, therefore, some who were aliens from the Holy and Apostolic Church, following the deception of the impious Nestorius and Eutyches, we before promulgated a divine

* *Christian Remembrancer*, No. LXVIII. p. 486.

edict, as your Holiness knows, by which we restrained the madness of the heretics. . . .

“These, then, are the points in which, by our divine edict, we convicted the heretics; to which divine edict all the most holy bishops who were here, and the most reverend Archimandrites, together with your Holiness, subscribe. . . . Let no one, therefore, vainly trouble us, relying on a vain hope, as if we ever had done any thing contrary to the Four Councils, or should do, or should allow to be done by any, or should suffer the holy memory of the same holy Four Councils to be removed from the aforesaid diptychs of the Church. For all who by them have been condemned and anathematised, and the doctrine of those condemned, and those who have thought or think with them, we anathematised.”*

Surely these passages, taken as I have quoted them, present every appearance of a distinct claim made by the Emperor, to decide what shall, and what shall not, be accepted as the orthodox faith in the Imperial Church. The comment indeed made, in the article itself, on similar passages, is the following:—“If Charlemagne or Louis speak to bishops, and upon spiritual matters, in terms as authoritative and peremptory as those of a Pope’s brief, we know that they are fully agreed with their bishops, and are probably using the words which their bishops have drawn up for them.” But, with great deference to this very able, interesting, and learned writer, I cannot admit that he has solved the difficulty. I cannot think such passages, as I have quoted, fairly reconcilable with any idea, on the Emperor’s part, that it is the bishops of the Empire, and not himself, who are to determine on the religion of the Empire: the bishops are plainly not addressed as having voice or part in the matter, except to obey the Emperor’s command. We have absolutely no alternative then, but to believe, *either* that the Emperor actually made this claim of determining, on his own authority, the religion of the Empire (which no one maintains), or else that he was not *originating* commands, but *enforcing on them the commands of some external authority, which he recognised as binding both on him and them.* And the latter hypothesis gives to the full as natural an interpretation as the former. Suppose a Christian

* *Christian Remembrancer*, from the same article.

king, for example, were earnestly to command his subjects to abstain from robbery, adultery, and murder, affixing, at the same time, civil punishments to these offences, no one would suppose him to mean, that he had an equal claim on their obedience if he commanded the *perpetration* of these vices. No one would suppose this, because all his subjects would perfectly know, that he recognised the law of God as binding both on himself and on them ; and that, in these matters, he was not originating commands of his own, but enforcing the commands of God.

Now, this conclusion would inevitably follow, even if there were no explicit mention of this external authority ; but I have chosen the particular passages above cited, partly because some of them contain *express reference* to that, which I contend must be *understood* through the whole series.

Thus the law of Gratian and Theodosius :

“ We will that all people, whom the power of our clemency rules, should live in that religion, which was given by *St. Peter the Apostle to the Romans*, as the religion by him introduced *witnesses to this day, and which it is clear that Pope Damasus follows*, and Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of Apostolical sanctity.”

Again, Justinian to the Patriarch of Constantinople :

“ We wish your Holiness, &c., [as above quoted] . . . a divine edict, by which we restrained the madness of heretics ; yet without having changed or changing any thing whatsoever, or *having gone beyond the constitution of the Church*, which has been, by God’s help, hitherto preservèd ; *but* having kept in all things *the state of unity of the most holy Churches with the most holy Pope and Patriarch of old Rome*, to whom we have written to the same effect. For *we suffer not that any thing that pertains to the state of the Church should fail to be referred to his Blessedness*, seeing that he is the head of the holy priests of God ; and the more so, because, whenever heretics have sprung up in these parts, *they have been restrained by the sentence and just judgment of that venerable throne.*”

It will further illustrate my argument, and will shew more plainly what a deep and radical difference of meaning there may be in the very same words and external acts, accordingly as men do, or do not, admit this necessity of communion with the Holy See, if we imagine the hypothesis of the Established Church

having been imbued with that principle during the few last years. It is wonderful how little need have been the changes of form, and, on the other hand, how complete, and (as we may say) *revolutionary*, the change of essence. In Mr. Gorham's case, for example, supposing it had been possible for such a case to have arisen, things might have proceeded in the very same form which we have lately seen: but when the time for final judgment came near, it would have been signified by the Holy Father, that he must exclude from his communion all who, whether as judges or otherwise, in any way forwarded these heretical views; and that, in case the law went in favour of Mr. Gorham, he must place the parishioners of Brampford Speke under a different pastor, and enforce excommunication against them, should they unite "in sacris" with the heretical intruder favoured by the State. But in fact, supposing this principle to be really held, things would never be suffered to proceed to extremities. The Government would press forward their influence, no doubt, in a degree extremely detrimental to the Church's *well-being*; but they would take care to stop precisely at the point where it would threaten her *being*, and so bring down upon them the interference of Rome. Every thing, short of open heresy, might be industriously forwarded; but *as* industriously would open heresy have been avoided. Not only might the government have been allowed to appoint the bishops (this indeed is the general rule in Catholic countries); they might have had also the apportionment of dioceses, the power to abrogate old, or to construct new; nay, (though I am not aware of any Catholic precedent for this,) it would not be in itself contrary to *principle*, that bishops (as in King Edward's time) should have held their jurisdiction only during the king's pleasure. Such grievances as these (which, however, I am as far as possible from undervaluing,) are not, however, the real wound from which the Establishment suffers; and an agitation for the removal of these, as though its position thereby would be one whit better, is the merest child's-play. No; the death-wound of the Establishment is something incomparably deeper than any or all of these; it is the loss of that, without which no Church can possibly belong to the Apostolic *Body*,—the loss of all security for the preservation of the Apos-

tolic *Faith*. That the Anglican Church is now, and has been from the Reformation downwards, a prey to almost every variety of deadly heresy, this is what I shall *presently* maintain: what I am now pointing out is, that she has lost all *security* for being otherwise; that, in matters even of doctrine, the State's voice is her supreme law; the Judicial Committee her final judge. For such grievances as I just now recited (except perhaps the last), precedents in plenty may probably enough be found in ecclesiastical history; but for *this* grievance, (if I may once more repeat an expression I have had so often to cite from my first paper,) "I would beg my opponents to take any one fact in the whole course of Catholic history, . . . let it be as isolated, anomalous, and obscure as they please; and to say distinctly whether, by any possible ingenuity, it can be so distorted, as to present even a momentary and colourable parallel." So long as the obligation of communion with Rome is admitted, there is, by the very necessity of the case, a most real (however for the time latent) power, from whom ecclesiastical jurisdiction really proceeds; and of whom it is guaranteed to us by divine promise, that he will never permit the Faith itself, in *his* communion, to be called in question. Nor is this all, though this would indeed be much. The same power which (tacitly) gave jurisdiction, may revoke it; and so long therefore as this one belief, (*viz.* in the necessity of communion with Rome,) remains intact, a principle is implanted, by help of which the Holy Father may at any time, when for the good of religion it shall to him seem expedient, enforce a change of the relations between Church and State.

You may possibly be inclined here to interfere; and to object that I am assuming one or two most important matters, which you confidently deny. You may object, that you neither admit the *fact* of the Pope's early supremacy, nor the *doctrine* of his present infallibility; and that, in all I have been lately saying, I have taken for granted both fact and doctrine. But so to object would imply a complete misconception of my whole argument; which does not *assume* either of these positions, though it *tends* undoubtedly to *prove* the former.

My argument has been twofold: 1st, that whereas both you and I agree that no Catholic bishops, in early times, would have

accepted the emperor's decree as the standard of orthodoxy; it is very difficult nevertheless, or even impossible, to reconcile certain documents of the period with this principle of ours, unless we admit the contemporaneous existence of the Papal supremacy: and 2dly, whereas I have over and over again distinctly charged the Anglican Establishment, with submitting to the State as judge of doctrine in the last resort; I have pointed out, that nothing bearing the most distant resemblance to this can possibly have place, in a society which (rightly or wrongly,) regards communion with the Pope as necessary to salvation. And I have hinted at this further fact, that whereas every branch of the Catholic Church possesses that which, *on her principles*, is security for sound doctrine; no change that any one has ever *proposed*, in the constitution of *your* body, will give you what, *on your principles*, is such security.

Another difficulty, and at first sight a more reasonable one, may be raised, as making my whole argument difficult to understand. "Why," it may be asked, "if facts are as I represent them, why cannot the Pope *enforce* in all cases those conditions of alliance, which to him seem, in the abstract, most desirable? If the people are really persuaded, that union with the Holy See is necessary to salvation, will they not willingly accept any terms, rather than forfeit that union?" A difficulty this, however, which forgets the fact, that the mass of men are not, on the one hand, *intellectually* far-seeing and perspicacious; nor, on the other hand, *morally* endowed with saint-like humility and self-abnegation. Let me explain myself on both these particulars; and, assuming our doctrines to be true, let me shew how, *on* that assumption, the difficulty disappears.

And first, on the *moral* impediments. It is among the commonest and most obvious phenomena, that great numbers of men are really resolved, by the grace of God, to avoid mortal sin; who yet are so disposed that we have a fear, almost amounting to certainty, that, under certain circumstances, they would fall from their holy resolution. And accordingly, it is among the most continually recurring and universally admitted obligations of charity, to avoid placing men in "occasions of sin." This obligation is felt, of course, in a degree so special as almost to

amount to a difference in kind, by him who has received commission from the Chief Pastor, to guide, feed, and govern His flock. This yearning love of souls, which so singularly characterises the dealings of the Holy See with the Church, produces a most unremitting and tender anxiety, that the principle of obedience be not pressed beyond what it will bear; and that commands be not imposed, which the spirit of pride, or cowardice, or indolence, or personal or national independence, may probably prompt men to disobey. They, indeed, if unrepentant, would eternally perish for their disobedience; but he might not be without blame who, without necessity, exposed them to the peril. On the other hand, there are not unfrequently evils, and those of no less momentous a kind, attending the opposite course of lenience and forbearance. And to steer his way between these opposite evils, so as to obtain the greatest benefit with the least sacrifice,—this is the problem ever placed before our Holy Father; and in which, we Catholics doubt not that he receives a special gift of wisdom from above, which enlightens and directs his steps.*

Again, as regards *intellectual* deficiency. The doctrine that communion with the Holy See is commanded, as indispensably necessary for salvation, (indispensably necessary, that is, where there is not invincible ignorance of the precept), this principle is no doubt pregnant with an indefinite train of results, of the most momentous kind. Yet it is one thing sincerely and heartily to receive the principle, and quite a different thing to be quick in recognising its legitimate applications. In very many cases, such an application may point to the duty, of innovating upon perhaps long-continued usage, nay, of abandoning very strong preconceived opinions. In such cases, it is greatly understating the matter to say, that many will be slow in admitting the legitimacy of such applications: rather, it is very few who will be otherwise than slow. And the Supreme Pontiff may well hesitate in pressing claims, however just, with the certainty of causing many conscientious perplexities, and with

* It is not meant by this, that we believe the Pope to be actually *infallible* on such matters of ecclesiastical conduct; but we *do* believe him to be assisted by very special Divine superintendence. This subject is enlarged upon, towards the end of the letter.

the risk of tempting to actual schism. And yet here, as in the former case, there may be most grievous danger also from the opposite quarter; and his office is, to adjust the balance as well as may be done. Hence we see, in history, so many, and so well-founded, Papal pretensions, waved for a time, and renewed when there is more hope of success;—a procedure always especially distasteful to Protestants and infidels, and which is the substratum of fact, lying under the various popular declamations about “the spirit of Papal aggression,” and the like.*

* This obvious consideration affords a ready solution to the objections brought by Protestants against the evidences of the Catholic Church. For instance, our controversialists allege, from Scripture and the Fathers, a large number of the most plain and unequivocal testimonies for *the indivisible unity of the Church*; testimonies admitted by Protestants themselves to be absolutely inconsistent, if taken simply and literally, with your claims to Catholicity. The common resource, in controversy, is to bring together a certain number of other facts, which seem to evince that this same principle was *not fully understood* by all in early times. Now, for such reasons as those given in the text, there is no difficulty whatever in our admitting that, in this or that instance, the right *application* of this principle was not understood; but this does not in the least shew, that the *principle itself* was not held. One fair way of testing, then, how far any such fact is a real objection to our doctrine, is to see whether such fact can possibly be interpreted, as witnessing to some doctrine *different* from ours on the point in hand. Thus, on the subject above specified: the Apostles either taught that the Church is essentially one body politic; or that it is made up of so many bodies politic, each governed by its bishop; or that it is constituted in some other conceivable way. Now we Catholics maintain, (and I think quite unanswerably,) that there is no one ecclesiastical constitution you can name and define, except the Catholic, in favour of which you can find so much as one (I will not say distinct testimony, but one) *hint*, in Scripture or the Fathers. The argument, therefore, stands thus: either the Christian Church was ordained to be one indivisible body politic, or it was ordained to have some other constitution which admits of being specified. For the first of these alternatives, a vast body of the most explicit testimony is adduced; for the second of these alternatives, in any one shape that can be named, no testimony whatever is even attempted; therefore the first of these alternatives is true. The instances, quoted in opposition, *must* arise from some incidental inability rightly to *apply* the Catholic principle, not from any *principle* adverse to the Catholic; because our opponents themselves cannot name any such principle, which they so much as *profess* to have been held by the personages whom they adduce.

In like manner, if the Christian Church be, by divine appointment, one organised body politic, there must be some *bond* or *centre* of union appointed by God. There is the strongest evidence, in Scripture and Antiquity, that the obligation of communion with the Holy See is that bond; while there is no other bond of union that can be named, for which a particle of evidence is producible. Hence, as before, it follows necessarily, that the obligation of communion with the Holy See *was* a divinely ordained principle; and that the instances brought in opposition, are referrible to slowness or mistake in *applying* that principle, not from any opposition to the principle itself.

This reasoning will be better understood at a later part of my argument.

At the same time (often as I have mentioned this, it is safer to mention it again, that I may avoid all risk of misapprehension), all these claims, which may thus be waved at one time and enforced at another, are such as steer quite clear of the *essentials* of the Christian Church. In particular (to speak of what bears on my present subject), they are absolutely and altogether clear of all toleration of *heresy*. It is commanded by God's law, and guaranteed by God's promise, that the Holy See shall never continue its communion to open and known heretics.

Further, it must not be forgotten, that even were the Catholic people as humbly and dutifully loyal to the Pope, as Christ Himself could desire; concordats are not made with peoples, but with sovereigns. The people may be profoundly Catholic, and yet the sovereign may be attached to Rome by cords, which a very little resistance will break. Now, as I urged in my first paper, the evil of a schismatical and persecuting potentate is so awfully great, that any sacrifices, however grievous, far more, however wounding to human pride, so only *principle* allows them, will most readily be made, "if by them may be averted a state of things, in which *heroic fortitude* becomes absolutely necessary to salvation, and in which accordingly the poor weak souls, who perish eternally, may be counted by millions."

I have been speaking of the various causes, which will, at all times, most piously and reasonably weigh with the Holy Father, and induce him to abstain from pressing very many conditions of communion, which he may regard as abstractedly desirable. But I am not meaning to commit myself to an opinion, that the state of things, *e. g.* under Charlemagne, at all belongs to this class. The question, as is evident, is wholly without practical importance; but it is quite conceivable for a Catholic to think (whether or no I should agree with him), that supposing a thoroughly Catholic king and a thoroughly Catholic people, there could not be a much more salutary arrangement. So far as I am able to understand history, there is nothing more alien to the spirit of the Holy See, in later as well as in earlier times, than the attempt to engross into its own hands the whole *administration* of the Church. The very contrary seems to me the case; a constant labour and endeavour that its various subordinates may promote the great cause, each according to his respec-

tive mode of action ; and an unwillingness to interfere, except where an heretical leaven might be creeping in. Witness the ready encouragement, and wide liberty, given to the vast variety of orders and congregations, each with its own sphere of action and maxims of conduct ; witness the great discretion allowed to individual bishops, in their mode of governing their respective dioceses. Heresy or heretical tendency not being supposed, the Holy See seems never disposed to interfere, except where there may be a disposition, in societies or individuals, not to be contented with liberty allowed to themselves, but to encroach on the liberty equally allowed to others. And so, no doubt, if an emperor were roughly to over-ride his bishops, take from their due liberty of action, or otherwise to contravene the general maxims of the Church, a Pope might wish (except for fear of greater evils) to diminish his power. But on the contrary supposition— if there be a Christian emperor, filled with deference for the Holy See, and acting also on terms of the fullest confidence and sympathy with his bishops,—that such an emperor, should have by far the largest share in originating ecclesiastical measures for his people's good, and should also exercise a very wide superintendence over their execution, this is certainly not anti-catholic in principle ; nay, I can imagine many a good Catholic to regard it as the most salutary possible state of things. And certainly such facts as those brought together in the *Christian Remembrancer*, are in one respect especially valuable ; for they bear the strongest possible protest against the modern idea, that it is not (if so be) a miserable necessity, but rather that it is the one appropriate position of the civil magistrate, that he ignore the claims of spiritual truth, and direct his efforts exclusively to objects of this world. I only maintain, that it is competent to the Pope, and him alone, to oblige the consciences of Christians peremptorily and without appeal, on the question, whether, and how long, any particular terms of union are to continue.

I have now then, sir, I trust, explained more clearly than I seem to have been able before, the distinction which I meant to draw, between the concessions made by your body to the State, and those which have been made by any branch of the Catholic Church. The very plenitude of jurisdiction, given over to the Church, includes the power (generally speaking) of delegating

that jurisdiction to whom she will; but over *the faith* she has no power, beyond that of declaring and defining it. Accordingly, while *you* have surrendered dogma, *we* have most religiously preserved it. That wonderful fabric, both of doctrinal and moral definitions, that vast scheme of scientific theology, which has grown up in the course of ages within the Church, has never for one moment been tampered with, nor the laws of its steady and equable growth violated, even in the most disastrous epochs of the Church's history. She may have yielded to the State's despotism in almost every thing else, as she had full power from Christ to yield; but *here* she has been proof alike against threats and blandishments, against material power and intellectual rebellion. You may say, if you will, that the Pope has decided doctrine wrongly; but it is a plain matter of fact, that he has kept the decision of it in his own hands. The distinction between you and us, in one word, is no other than that very distinctly pronounced, and very familiar one; the distinction between the giving what is *our own*, and the making free with what is *entrusted* to us by another. An offence this last, which has always been marked with a very special note of turpitude in the ethical code.

IV. This, then, being the plain matter of fact, which no one can deny or dispute; the State having kept in its own hands, for the last 300 years, the decision, as to what shall and what shall not be taught in your pulpits; it needed no very prophetic mind, to augur the general course of events. The State is too busy with its own affairs, to have much leisure for theology; and moreover, its authorities have their mental vision so habitually engrossed with objects and interests of this world, that it is the fondest illusion to imagine they can ever be sensitively anxious, as to the means of high spiritual progress, or the strict purity of Christian faith. But this is not all. They will not merely be *indifferent* to the Church's objects, they will in many most important respects be *averse* to them. "The State wishes its subjects," it has been said, "to have some teaching about the next world, but not too much; just as much as is important and beneficial to the interests of the present. Decency, order, industry, patience, sobriety, and as much of purity as can be expected

of human nature, this is its list of requisites; *not dogma*, for it creates the odium theologicum; *not mystery*, for it only serves to exalt the priesthood."—*Father Newman's Lectures*, p. 156.

Let us now see, in some degree, how far the facts of the case have answered such expectations. I say in some degree, for as regards the doctrinal condition of your Church in recent times, I absolutely despair of doing any sort of justice to the deep feeling—I might almost literally say *sense*—of the unspeakable divergences, confusions, worldliness, profaneness, shallowness, formalism, arrogance, stupidity, which belong to the religious tenets professed among you; a sense, which the five years' experience of doctrinal unity has not a little intensified. And as to the earlier days, again, of your post-reformation existence, I doubt not that an acquaintance at first hand with the writers of that period, would enable me to give far more apposite and (so to speak) more lively instances than will here follow. Such as I *can* produce, however, will be found quite enough to impress with aversion and disgust any really Catholic mind. Nor can I find any more appropriate preface to my proposed examination, than the following passage,—a passage at once most eloquent and most honourable to his Catholic feeling,—from Mr. Gladstone's late pamphlet. It is impossible to ask for a more distinct and emphatic statement of the principles held by the early Church in regard to doctrinal unity: and thus it will afford an admirable standard whereby to measure such facts as may be adduced; while, on the other hand, as coming from so "moderate" a person as Mr. Gladstone, there can be no suspicion of its being coloured for a purpose.

"A certain body of revealed truth," says Mr. Gladstone, "has been given by God to man, and defined in an intelligible manner for his use, which it is not only the specific office, but the divine commission, of the Church to teach. Now, if these things be true, then to propose that the faith and its opposite in any particular article shall be placed on equal terms, within the precinct and by the law of the Church, is simply to demand that *she shall betray her office*. It is precisely (however startling the comparison may appear) what it would be relatively to the marriage state, to enact that fidelity might be maintained in it, but that adultery might also be practised in it at the option of the parties.

It is a process to which, if the early Church would have submitted, she need never have seen her children mangled in the jaws of lions, or writhing on the stake or in the flame. But then it is also a process *which would have turned the dwelling-place of the living God into a Pantheon*. It is, therefore, that which simply could not be; because it is contrary to the words, which His hand had graven upon the rock with a pen of iron: The gates of hell, &c.”—*Gladstone on the Supremacy*, pp. 77, 78.

In the vast mass of heresy at once opening to our notice, let us begin with the one just now in every one’s mouth, a denial of the universal regeneration of infants in holy Baptism. It is convenient to begin with this, because the whole stir made by your party, at the present time, implies the deepest and most unanimous conviction that it *is* a heresy. And I proceed to observe, that Calvinism necessarily implies this heresy. The *Christian Remembrancer* for last January, indeed, has bestowed (I must think) a great deal of labour on a very easy undertaking, viz. the proving that there is no essential contradiction between the *Augustinian* doctrine of Predestination, and the Catholic doctrine of Baptism. It is probable enough (I don’t know how the fact stands) that Mr. Gorham’s counsel may have led the way in this confusion between St. Augustine and *Calvin*; but the reviewer should have remembered, that Calvinism has not one “point” only, but “five;” and that “the indefectibility of grace” is among these five. It might be added, indeed, that both this tenet and that of “personal assurance,” are far more intimately connected with (what we should have called at Oxford) the *ἡθος* of Calvinism, than is the comparatively abstract one of Predestination. But at all events, the one is no less universal and essential a part of the Calvinist’s creed than is the other; and the indefectibility of grace *is* logically contradictory to baptismal regeneration. As follows: “Grace, once given, is never,” at least finally, “lost;” but many persons, baptised in infancy, will die out of the state of grace, as all admit. Therefore there are many baptised persons, who have never been in the state of grace at all, and therefore not when they were baptised. Nor is this *merely* a logical inference, however direct; it is plain, and no one will deny it, that to recognise baptised children as certainly in a state of grace and the friends of God, is to cut up by the roots the

whole fabric of practical Calvinism. No Calvinist ever did, ever will, or ever could, really do so.

This being premised, to shew the position which Calvinism was at one time allowed to assume in your Establishment, let me make use of an article which appeared in the *British Critic* of October 1842; and which is ascribed to a writer, who has, from that day to this, exhibited himself as warm a supporter of your Church's Catholicity as you, sir, are yourself:—I mean the article entitled, 'Development of the Church in the Seventeenth Century.' Heylin, quoted in this article, deposes as follows as to the time of Queen Elizabeth:

"It cannot be denied, that by error of these times, *the reputation which Calvin had attained in both Universities*, and the extreme diligence of his followers, for the better carrying on of their own designs, *there was a general tendency to his opinions in the present controversies*; so that it is no marvel if many men of good affection to that Church in government and forms of worship, might unawares be seasoned with his principles in point of doctrine; his *Book of Institutes* being for the most part the foundation on which the young divines of those times did build their studies; and having built their studies on a wrong foundation, did publicly maintain some point or other of his doctrines. *Of any man who publicly opposed the Calvinian tenets in the University (Oxford), till after the beginning of King James's reign, I must confess that I have hitherto found no good assurance*; though there were some who spared not to declare their dislike thereof, and *secretly* trained up their scholars in other principles. We find but two (Dr. Buckridge and Dr. Houson) named for anti-Calvinists *in the five controverted points*. Yet might there be many others, perhaps some hundreds, who held the same opinions with them, and discovered not themselves, or broke out into any open opposition, as they did at Cambridge. God had 7000 servants in the realm of Israel who had not bowed the knee to Baal, though we find the name of none but the prophet Elijah, the residue keeping themselves so close, for fear of danger, that the prophet himself complained to God that he alone was left to serve Him; a parallel case to which, may be that of the Christians during the power and prevalency of the Arian heretics; St. Jerome giving us the names of no more than three who had stood up stoutly in defence of the Nicean Council, St. Athanasius, St. Hilary, and St. Eusebius, though it is most clear (by inferences from history) that it was preserved by many others.

“But if none but the three bishops had stood unto the truth, yet had that been sufficient to preserve the Church from falling universally from the faith of Christ, even as a king invaded by a foreign enemy doth keep possession of his realm by some principal fortress, the standing out whereof may in time gain all the rest. Which I return for answer to the objections, touching the paucity of those authors whom we have produced in maintenance of the anti-Calvinian or old English doctrines; for though they be few in number, and make but a very thin appearance,—*apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, in the poet’s language,—yet even for a good assurance, that the Church still kept possession of her primitive truths, *not utterly lost, though much endangered by such contrary doctrines as had of late been thrust upon her.*”—*Heylin’s Tracts*, p. 626.

It is much to be remarked in this passage, that Heylin distinctly regards Calvinism as a *heresy*, and parallels it with Arianism. As to his attempted defence from the early Church, it fails precisely in the very point at issue; for the orthodox, as every one knows, held it a sacred principle to *refuse communion* with the Arians; and the Church in communion with Rome, which alone, of course, *we* regard as the Catholic Church of the time, was never sullied at all with the profession of heresy.* In this passage, on the contrary, Heylin, with all his zeal for making out the best possible case for his Church, is unable to point to any ecclesiastical authority *whatever* (much less any claiming to be *supreme*) which even lifted up its voice against the heresy *as heresy*. The very *foundation of ecclesiastical studies*, he says, at that time, was directly heretical.

In an earlier part of the article the writer gives us his own judgment:

“Our Reformers, at parting, left the Church in the hands of a *Calvinistic party, who were more really our Reformers than they were themselves*; only bequeathing, as a record of *their own particular influence, a legacy of Erastianism*” (p. 328).

Again:

“The whole Church, from one end to the other, was flooded with the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism, absolute election, predestination,

* The case of Liberius is discussed towards the end of this letter.

and *the rest of the five points*. They gained possession of both Universities—they were the recognised doctrines of our divinity schools: *it was thought heretical to doubt them*" (p. 332).

I may cite Mr. Maskell to the same purpose. If it be objected that his subsequent course renders his testimony suspicious, I would draw attention to the fact, how entirely contrary to his preconceived opinions were the ultimate results of his research:

"My former knowledge," he says, "of these writers must have been loose and indefinite enough; for I was not prepared to learn, as I have learnt, that, perhaps without two exceptions, all the divines, bishops and archbishops, doctors and professors, of the Elizabethan age, held and taught doctrines" on the subject "of sacramental grace and justification inconsistent (I write advisedly) with the true doctrine of Baptism."—*Second Letter*, pp. 14, 15.

I may refer, too, to the article in the *Christian Remembrancer*, which I have already mentioned, in the number for last January. The writer, indeed, is led by his argument to say the utmost he can in favour of Anglican divines; but I think a fair perusal of the passages (quoted by Mr. Gorham's advocate) which he has brought together for notice (pp. 43-49), will give a deeper conviction of the truth of the foregoing statement of their tenets, than any merely general comment. The writer's own conclusion, indeed, is, I should think, a perfectly true account of the matter; though it is most wonderful he should have fancied it to make in his own favour. "All the regeneration there is among men"—these Calvinistic divines—"connect unequivocally with baptism; and *if a man is regenerate*, they tell him, you became so through baptism. But they see the fact," according to their idea of things, "that few men are really regenerate; and they regard" this fact as shewing a "*defect of grace from the first*" (pp. 49, 50). In other words, they deny the unconditional regeneration of all infants in Baptism: which is my assertion.*

This will suffice, I suppose, for the Elizabethan time. You

* At the same time, I cannot but express my unbounded astonishment at the reviewer's opinion, that St. Augustine's doctrine is substantially similar to this. I can speak at first hand here, having read carefully through a considerable number of his anti-Pelagian treatises. It is not to my present purpose to enlarge on this; but I can pledge myself, if called upon, to disprove the above statement.

will perhaps be surprised when I give an opinion, that the principles which prevailed in the following period are, in some respects, even more repulsive to a Catholic mind. Heylin may be taken, one imagines, as a fair representative of Laud's opinions; and he, as we have seen, honestly and expressly designates the prevalent Calvinism as a *heresy*. Yet in what single instance did either Laud, or any of his friends, make any attempt ecclesiastically to *treat* it as such? to withdraw from the communion of these heretics, and become members of some Church, which should hold up before its members Apostolical Doctrine as the one only truth? The very notion of such a thing seems never to have crossed their mind ever so distantly, even when the Calvinistical tenets were absolutely dominant. The idea of an Establishment, with the king as governor *jure divino*, seems to have been far too deeply rooted in their minds, and too unquestioningly received, to admit of their so much as dreaming of separation from that venerated body and that idolised head. Certain at all events it is, that they treated their opponents simply as a rival party in the same Church; and in thus dealing with the question as *an open one* in the Establishment, they surely displayed principles far more analogous to those which you condemn in the Judicial Committee, and in your two Archbishops, than did their more consistently heretical adversaries. We have Mr. Neale's confession again, and that in a very earnest defence and eulogy of the Established Church, that at the very time when "Churchmen assumed a high tone," when the "ritual re-assumed dignity," and there was "a change of feeling" for the better, "with respect to the Sacrament of the Altar;" at that very time came "*the recognition of a Synod of Calvinians by the presence of English prelates:*" alluding to the Synod of Dort.

The very writer in the *British Critic*, seems to have been unable to defend these Laudians, without in some degree catching the same spirit. We have seen that he accepts Heylin's account of Calvinism, that it is a heresy, such as Arianism was; and yet, in other parts of the article, we find such language as "Davenant—a sound Churchman in his way, but a *strong Calvinist*;" "Strafford and Bramhall treated" *Usher* "with that respect and consideration which *his high station and sound Churchmanship*

on most points deserved. But Usher . . . though he approved of Laud's plans for the restoration of the Church, *did not like to sacrifice his Calvinism to them*" (p. 343). Conceive the orthodox contemporaries of St. Athanasius, finding some heretic ready to co-operate with them in adorning altars, and enforcing discipline in the clergy, and calling him accordingly "a sound Churchman in his way, but a strong *Arian*;" or "treating him with respect and consideration, because of his sound churchmanship *on most points!*" Well do I remember, at a distance of seven years, how deeply shocked I was with similar passages in this article at its first appearance, and how it strengthened my sense of the deep and radical difference between its author's notions and the principles I had learned to regard as orthodox.

Pass on now to the period beginning with the revolution, and especially called that "of the last century." Mr. Neale tells us that "the Church's" "*favourite teacher*" then said that "*the being born again meant nothing*; nothing, that is, to us, and in our circumstances." Mr. Neale's further account of the same era is, "the Church fought hard for many weary years against earnestness, and cast it out of her bosom; yes, *and she fought hard against truth too.*" A new position certainly for "a branch of the Church Catholic," to "fight hard for many weary years against" doctrinal "truth!" Let me not be supposed to be wanting in sympathy with Mr. Neale's most earnest and generous tone; but one is not the less, or rather the more, lost in amazement, when one attempts to divine what *can* be his ideas as to "the Prophectical office of the Church," and the promises made to her as witness of the Truth. Let us listen to him again, however, when he describes a still later period,—the period when the influences of Wesley began to establish for themselves a position in the Establishment. "When earnestness fought its way into her pale, it, in its turn, *attacked the Catholic faith*; Calvinism spread further and further, lifted up its head higher, *and ruled with a stronger hand.* All that was orthodox was lifeless; *all that had energy was unsound.*"*

Now I would implore any earnest and Catholic-minded person,

* The quotations from Mr. Neale will be found in the *Christian Remembrancer* for last April, pp. 532, 3.

who is resolved, at whatever cost, to be faithful to his principles, — I would implore him to weigh well these general facts: he regards Baptismal Regeneration as an essential article of the Creed; let him impress on his reason and on his imagination, the treatment which the said article has received, from that which he would fain persuade himself is part of the Church Catholic: and to remind himself of the *patristic* judgment on such a subject, let him peruse again Mr. Gladstone's pregnant words above quoted, words, too, which the author himself directly and specially applies to this very case of Baptism. "To propose that the faith and its opposite," says Mr. Gladstone, "in any particular article," (having just specified as such an article, "the doctrine of baptismal grace,") "shall be placed on equal terms within the precinct and by the law of the Church, is simply to demand that *she shall betray her office.*" It is as if, he continues, a married person were to have it allowed, as an open matter, to commit adultery; it would "turn the dwelling-place of the living God into a Pantheon."

The only defence I can so much as hear of for your Establishment on this head, except on simply latitudinarian principles, is an allegation that the difference is, to a great extent, one of intellectual misconception. There are some allegations of this kind, and this is one, which, from their absolute unexpectedness, deprive one of all presence of mind when first one hears them; as, for instance, if any one were to say, that Oliver Cromwell would have venerated holy images, except for an intellectual misconception. On putting into shape and analysing some of the various impressions which crowd into one's mind, in reply to this most astonishing idea, the first thing I have to ask is, Where is the *patristic* sanction for such a defence, even were the fact supposed true? As regards the early heresies, no one can doubt that a similar fact *was* sometimes true; no one can doubt that, in some seasons of extraordinary confusion, many, whose hearts were orthodox, took up with more or less of heretical formulæ, from more or less of intellectual misconception. Such cases were treated, one by one, tenderly and considerately, by the most eminent Fathers. But to which of these Fathers did it so much as occur, if I may so speak, even in his

dreams, that this should be a ground for withholding denunciations and anathemas from the heresy itself? Rather, their very tenderness and charity for weak and ignorant souls, would make them labour earnestly to expel the poison before it should spread farther. But still more, their quick, eager, burning zeal for the cause of God and His Faith would admit of no compromise or evasion; they tracked the heresy through all its windings of logical subtlety and impious sophistry; and peremptorily anathematized it, as contrary to the one Faith once received. This is one of the facts in Church history, which not even a child can doubt. And the contrast between this, on the one hand, and the demeanour of the most "high-church Anglican of them all" towards the denial of Baptismal Regeneration on the other hand, cannot be made clearer by words than it is of itself; the mere juxtaposition of the two ideas provokes an involuntary smile. Proceed on such principles as these, if you think them true, O Anglican "high-churchmen;" but, for common honesty's sake, *when* you do so, admit that you are going directly counter to the unanimous and deep consensus of the Fathers; and on no subordinate matter, but on the very central and cardinal point, on which the whole history of those times turns: give up all claims to primitiveness, all claims to patristic sanction, and confess yourselves what you are, the devisers of a new code of ecclesiastical maxims and principles.

All this would hold, I say, even were the fact borne out, that there *is* much apparent heresy in the matter which is not real. But how this can possibly be true, passes my comprehension. In the case of doctrines indeed so infinitely transcending all ordinary matters of thought and language as the Trinity and the Incarnation, one can well fancy, not merely a verbal, but also an intellectual difference, where yet there is no spiritual or substantial one. And so in the present case, if two persons are agreed that some supernatural gift is given in and by Baptism, one might well bear with much discrepancy in *describing* such gift. But the question really at issue is a plain common-sense question, which does not *admit* of misconception. You bring your child for Baptism; do you, or do you not, believe that, over and above the value of the clergyman's prayers, there is some special and deeply-

to-be-prized blessing conveyed by the ordinance itself? If you do think so, you view the administration of the Sacrament with more or less of awe and thrilling interest; you are uneasy till you have brought the child; if he is sick, you will spare no labour or trouble, that he may be baptised before he die; far more precious to you than the coming of the physician, will be the coming of the Minister of Baptism. Where such signs as these are absent, it is a plain undeniable matter of fact, that there is *no* real belief in Baptismal Regeneration; and if there *be*, in your Establishment, a difference between some men's words and ideas (as I, for one, think there is), it will be found *on the other side*; it will be found, that many persons who *profess* belief in Baptismal grace, shew by their actions and demeanour that it is *but* profession. And just as, in reference to my last argument, I might ask you, Which are the true inheritors of the faith of the Early Church, we who continue the principle of anathemas, or you who have abandoned it? so here I might ask you (for all that Dr. Pusey says, of the Eucharist, with us, putting Baptism into the shade,) to contrast the practice prevalent among us with that prevalent among you. See the parent's eagerness for his child's Baptism, in Catholic countries; his scruples, should there be apparent informality; his unhappiness, should the child die unbaptised. Is this a thing common among your people? Nay, as regards your very clergy, is it a common thing for them, carefully to inform themselves, wherein the essentials of a true Baptism consist? You know perfectly well, that the answers which you as well as I would have to give in reply to such questions as these, would be regarded by large numbers of your clergy as idle trifling and formalism, not to say superstition and Judaism. All this surely shews, that it is no difference of *words*, but a deep and wide opposition of *belief*, which separates your two great parties on this matter.

As to the arguments commonly adduced to prove the proposition I have been assailing, I cannot even see any *tendency* in them to prove it. They *tend* to prove, not that Calvinists hold, indeed, Baptismal Regeneration, but from intellectual misconception fancy themselves not to hold it; they tend to prove, not this, but another most different proposition, viz. that they do

not hold it ; but *would* hold it, except for an intellectual misconception. It is alleged, and I think truly alleged, that they regard their opponents as maintaining the gift, in Baptism, of such grace, as shall almost infallibly lead to salvation ; but it is *not* alleged that *they* hold some *other* inward grace to be there given. And though I have seen it stated, that several of them would admit that at least Original Sin is forgiven in Baptism to all children, no evidence is adduced for this fact ; and even this small fragment of the patristic doctrine, I am persuaded, would be rejected by them at once. As I said before, there never was, nor ever can be, a Calvinist, who shall admit that all baptised infants are in any sense, even the lowest, sons and friends of God.* And as to the argument from intellectual misconception,—let this be observed, that persons, dull enough to fall into so gross a misapprehension of their opponents' views as that above commented on, must be dull enough for any thing ; nor can any one doubt, that their misapprehension, whether of Catholic doctrines on the one hand, or, *e. g.*, Unitarian tenets on the other, would be equally gross. Will any one consistently maintain, that they are really both Catholics and Unitarians, except for an intellectual misconception ? The very utmost then that this argument can come to is, not a denial that these men are heretics, but a palliation of their sin in being so. That they *are*, in fact, heretics, is not denied but confessed.

Listen, again, to the writer in the *British Critic*, whom I have already so often quoted :

“ It is now,” he says, “ about ten years, since certain members of the University of Oxford began to put forward various high-church

* The quotations above alluded to in the *Christian Remembrancer*, altogether confirm this. Not the most distant allusion is to be found, either in the passages cited by the reviewer or by his opponents, drawing any distinction at all between forgiveness of Original Sin on the one hand, and inward grace on the other. Two or three passages seem, indeed, expressly on the other side. Thus Whitgift (p. 45): “ Who can tell whether he be holy or unholy . . . clean or unclean . . . of the household of the Church or not of the household, that is, baptised ; be he infant, or at the years of discretion ?” Abbott (p. 46): “ The sacraments have only effect, ‘ secundum propositum gratiæ, secundum beneplacitum voluntatis Dei.’” Whittaker (p. 48): “ God works *freely*, and in Baptism sanctifies *those whom He will*.” Still more expressly, Barlow (p. 50): “ God having purposed to save *some*, which He cannot do before He has remitted their sins, therefore in Baptism He both confers *this* grace, and confirms it unto *them*.”

doctrines, which they asserted, *and which all agree*, had been for a long time *laid aside*, or but indifferently maintained, in our Church. These doctrines . . . are mainly those of *Baptismal Regeneration*, the Real Presence, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, Tradition, *Church Authority*, Apostolical Succession, or points connected with them" (p. 300).

All this considered, I, for one, cannot understand the grievance you consider yourselves to have suffered, from the late decision; nor does the attempt appear to me fair and equitable, to divert blame, in some degree at least, from those who really deserve it—your own long series of bishops—to that body, for which your Church appears at first sight less responsible, the Judicial Committee. Even had the formularies of your Church, taken as a whole, been far more consistently on your side in the matter than I can admit, still the undeviating practice of 300 years, set on foot by the very compilers of those formularies, must be admitted as a sufficient counter-authority. Looking at your Establishment as a body governed by the State, the State has never ejected Calvinists, merely as such; looking at it as a society governed by bishops, no bishop has ever refused them institution. Under such circumstances as these, to have pronounced them unable to hold preferment, would have been, as it seems to me, the utmost extremity of injustice.

No; it is not, as you allege, that this last judgment is the crowning injury inflicted by the State, but that it is the necessary consequence of the State's *past* aggressions, and of your submission to them. When your Church so desired to be a national Church, that it failed to take any security that it should be an orthodox one; when she so desired to have the sanction of the State in teaching the people, that she cared not to agree either with herself or with the Catholic Church of any period, *what doctrines* they were to be taught; then was the very principle of heresy enthroned among you. And as year after year has passed on, and the very same principles prevailed; as doctrinal differences, the most essential, have come to be looked on as the necessary consequence of an Establishment, and even defended on a theory,—then was this principle of heresy fostered and encouraged. Shew me one of your so-called orthodox bishops, who consistently regarded communion *in sacris*

with Calvinists and other deniers of Baptismal Regeneration as a spiritual fornication, and a virtual abandonment of the faith,—in him will I recognise, so far, the title to that name, and an inheritor of the spirit of St. Athanasius or St. Ambrose ; but you can shew me none such : nay had there been one, (as I urged in my original paper), he could not have retained his position in your body. Lay the blame, then, on the right shoulders ; and confess, not that the Judicial Committee, but that your own Episcopal Bench, one by one, generation after generation, have been the promoters and the maintainers of heresy among you. Lay the blame on the Reformers, who gave up your Church bound hand and foot into the strong hands of the State. Or rather, and most practically and truly, lay the blame of being mixed up with this promiscuous multitude of omnigenous misbelievers, on *yourselves* ; who are contented to remain “loyal and attached” members of a body, which has betrayed the faith, and, to use Mr. Gladstone’s most forcible language, “has turned the dwelling-place of the living God into a Pantheon.”

For I cannot myself assent to the notion, nor even conceive on what grounds any one can maintain it, that this decision has been *the* step which has committed your Church to heresy. If that were my opinion, I should regard as most reasonable the claim of your friends, that your Church shall not be judged by that decision, until it become fully manifest what attitude she assumes in regard to it. I never met with any Catholic who denied the reasonableness of this plea, or who wished to lay hold of one single isolated fact, however remarkable, as a sufficient foundation for the charge of heresy. It is not a fact, but what the French call a *fait accompli*, which is the fair test. Thus, even when Dr. Hampden was “consecrated” and installed into the bishopric of Hereford, it might have been with much force urged by “high-churchmen,” that your Establishment was not committed to this state of things, so long as active protests were in progress. And accordingly, you yourself, sir, for some time afterwards, called him Bishop Hampden, not Bishop of Hereford ; as a protest that you did not regard the latter title as rightfully belonging to him. This protest has long since been tacitly withdrawn, and Dr. Hampden’s possession of the see of Hereford is now a

fact admitted and acquiesced in; nor do I think we shall have to wait very long, before there is a similar issue to the Gorham excitement. Already we find the Bishop of Exeter himself ordering the parishioners of Brampford-Speke to attend on Mr. Gorham's ministrations. Already we have the Church "Unions," unable to *preserve* union among themselves in their protest, and splitting into two antagonist parties. Already we have a letter in the *John Bull*, from "Presbyter Anglicanus," copied into the *English Churchman*, assuring the Editor that the zeal for Baptismal Regeneration, in many minds, is not comparable to the zeal against "Popery;" and that, if certain "secessions" had taken place earlier, the great meeting at St. Martin's Hall, at which the writer himself assisted, would have undergone "a woeful diminution of numbers." Nay, giving his own opinion, that the blow just "aimed" at your Church, "*failing in its intended effect*, has only more effectually displayed the energies of her faithful children."*

However, as I just now said, I cannot even conceive, on what grounds any one can attribute so distinctive an importance to the late decision. If, in any period of your existence apart from Rome, Calvinists had been considered among you, *as such*, to be heretics, and individual Calvinists kept back from orders, nay (as consistently it should be), from *communion*,—an innovation on this salutary rigour might well excite alarm. But the case, as I need not say, is precisely the reverse. Bishop after bishop, in every diocese, have admitted Calvinists as a matter of course. Even those very few who have tried to refuse a Calvinist *ordination*, in which matter the law of the land gives them a discretion, have never dared to refuse him *institution*; the latter being a matter, in which the law of the land (from its jealousy for the rights of patrons) allows *no* discretion. All this has gone on for three hundred years; to such an extent, indeed, that at more than one period (as we have seen) the whole earnestness of your Church is admitted, by your own friends, to have taken a Cal-

* As this sheet passes through the press, I cannot but point out how completely that excitement is now superseded by the opposite one on the Catholic Hierarchy; and how *incomparably* more lively and more unanimous is the zeal now expressed for the broad practical principle of the Royal Supremacy, than any that was elicited by so "abstract" a doctrine as that of Baptismal Regeneration.

vinistic shape: and this fact has caused you no scruple or uneasiness. A civil court has simply (as one may say) *endorsed* this fact; and from the outcry which has ensued, one would think there had been quite a revolution in your Church's system. One might almost fancy too that *you* were the party who regarded the civil power as doctrinally supreme. You regard the bishops as your governors *jure divino*; and yet you seem to say, "If these dignitaries had only gone on quietly in the old way, admitting every heretic as a matter of course; and so had avoided evoking any distinct voice from the civil court; things would have been well." Whereas the recent contest has been in your favour rather than otherwise, as drawing attention to one ecclesiastically honourable fact in your communion. After an interval of three hundred years, one bishop *has* been found, to make a quasi Catholic stand for this article of the Faith. All praise to Dr. Philpotts so far; and if his subsequent demeanour has not been so consistent, nor even so dignified, as one had hoped, let us rather excuse his deficiencies from the difficulty and singularity of his position; and let us none the less praise his zeal for the purity of God's truth, at least in one particular.

I have all through greatly under-argued this matter, as far as my own convictions are concerned, from the necessity of arguing *ad hominem*. In truth, I know no more irresistible proof of the narrowing and blinding effect produced by one distinguishing characteristic of your party, than your idea that the *chief* heresy, involved in Calvinism, is its denial of Baptismal grace. The characteristic which I mean is this; that whereas, even proverbially, all heresy is continually new in its manifestations,—you will not allow any thing to be dealt with as indubitable heresy, unless it should happen to have made its appearance, and so been condemned, in the early ages. However expressly and unanimously the contradictory doctrine may have been witnessed from the first, it may not be treated as worthy of an anathema, unless it was met by one during a certain imaginary period of exclusive purity; a period, gratuitously and without pretence of reason, marked out as such, by your own private judgment.

For this reason, I am precluded from taking, in argument with you, what appears to me the true line, both against Cal-

vinism and against "Evangelicalism" of all shapes. For the doctrine, invented by Luther, of "justification by faith only," which is the very life of that whole form of belief, appears to me a far more deep and radical heresy than the denial of Baptismal grace. It seems to me to involve, not only an absolute revolution in the first elements of revealed doctrine (this may be said of the other too), but also a direct contradiction to the most sacred and primary principles of natural morality and religion. I should not venture to express such strong opinions, where I have not opportunity of entering into their grounds, were I not able to refer my readers, for a full exposition of those grounds, to a work which I published while yet a Protestant. I may add, that an article in the *Quarterly Review*, since acknowledged by Mr. Gladstone as his, which commented very severely on many other parts of the book (in some respects justly, in others, I still think, most unjustly), left wholly untouched the long chapter to which I have alluded. I know not how much of agreement this circumstance entitles me to suppose.

I will not enlarge, however, on this subject, as there is no room to do so. Merely as suggesting one small part of my meaning, only consider this one doctrinal difference, in its bearing on the practical religious life. Is the security of personal salvation the privilege of every believer? or, on the other hand, Is perseverance a blessing ordinarily uncertain, even in the holiest of men, until the very end? Or, to put the same thing in another shape, Is *fear* of the Day of Judgment an ordinary element in the true Christian character, or is it directly inconsistent with, and fatal to, that character? It is not too much to say, that accordingly as this question is answered, every religious act of every hour of every day assumes a radically different complexion. How, then, can we characterise the very notion of uniting these opposite doctrines into one Church, and of allowing clergymen to preach indifferently the one or the other, except as indicative (I do not say in the intention of its upholders, but in itself) of the very extremest stretch of latitudinarian anti-Christianism?

In reply to such observations, it is continually suggested, that men do not really carry out their principles; and that the English especially are a practical people, who care much more

about the working of a thing in effect and result, than the squaring it by an abstract theory. As to the doctrine of "justification by faith only," God forbid that I should impute to any man the carrying out of that principle to its conclusions; for he would be a very devil to do so. But a principle may do unspeakable mischief, as every one admits, *without* being so fully and consistently carried out. And as to the religion practically held within your Church, (that I may meet these objectors on their own grounds, and *consider* the practice as well as the theory), as I have already tested it on the question of baptismal grace (see pp. 32, 33), so let me now test it on the still deeper and more important question before us. Now there is one test which every one must admit to be a fair one. In exact proportion as men of unsystematic and practical minds are *not* fairly estimated by the abstract theory or doctrine they will maintain, in that very proportion they *are* fairly estimated, by their mode of feeling towards living and breathing *examples*, when set before them. Now put before the average members of your Church the living picture of a Catholic Saint of early times; how will they be affected towards him? Take first of all the element of asceticism, of voluntary privation, and bodily suffering of the severest kind; would your congregations, hearing a vivid description of such from the pulpit, or meeting with it in actual life, recognise it as part of their idea of the highest Christian character, or would they denounce it as fanaticism and superstition? No answer but one can possibly be given. So, again, the merit of celibacy: how deeply does it test the real character of men's religious belief, to see whether they do, or do not, exhibit that passionate admiration and reverence for that grace, so conspicuous on the very surface of early Church History! Read the whole account, *e. g.*, in Gibbon (whom I choose as an impartial witness), of the monks from the very time of Constantine (vol. vii. p. 235, *et seq.*), and say if you can distinguish it in principle, even one jot or tittle, from the very standard of saintly virtue, which has been maintained within the Catholic Church both in middle and modern ages; yet "the monastic saints," says he (p. 263), "who excite only the contempt and pity of a philosopher, *were respected and almost adored* by the prince and

people. Successive crowds of pilgrims *saluted the divine pillar of Simeon* . . . and the angelic hermit was consulted by the younger Theodosius in the most important concerns of Church and State." Read the lives of one of these holy ascetics to a congregation of Catholics, it will harmonise with the very tone and spirit of those modern lives of Saints, which have been their favourite study, and their exemplar of high holiness. Will *your* people generally "respect and almost adore" such a character, as the early Christians did? If the feelings, with which they would listen to the detailed recital of the life of a St. Anthony or a St. Simeon Stylites, would be any thing rather than that of "respect and almost adoration" (being divided rather between anger and contemptuous pity), one of two alternatives must follow; and it is perfectly indifferent to my purpose, which. Either your party in general do, or do not, sympathise with this type of religious perfection. If you do not, then you are at direct issue with the very model which you profess to copy, on no subordinate matter, but on the very elementary idea of what that is wherein the highest sanctity consists. But if you *do* sympathise with it, then you are at direct issue with your fellow-churchmen, on this same elementary principle.

I am sorry to be obliged to put this alternative; but I *am* obliged, by the tone we find from time to time adopted by publications of your party. Thus, in the last number of the *Christian Remembrancer*, among the notices of new publications, the following observation appears in regard to Father Faber's recent "Triduo:" "It is a melancholy chapter in the history of the human mind, to descend from the 'eagle of Meaux' to 'the representative Saint of modern times,' for whom 'dogs detached themselves from their masters, and followed him; and little birds fluttered round his face, and sung in his ear; and who dressed himself out in plain clothes, for the mere purpose of being made game of'" (p. 517).

A person who did not know whence this is extracted, might readily think it was some comment on the primitive ascetics from the hand of Gibbon. The sneer at the saintly love of contempt is truly Gibbonian; and as to dogs and birds following St. Philip, did not an ass once actually *speak* to Balaam?

Is it a "melancholy chapter in the human mind" that men can be found to believe literally the miracles of the Old Testament? Or to take almost the first instance that suggests itself, from the early Church. St. Jerome mentions, that a camel was once possessed by a devil, and that St. Hilarion exorcised it: also, that when a large serpent devastated Epidaurus, the Saint prepared a pile of wood, all ready to be set on fire, and compelled the serpent, by his power, to come on it to be burned; and that the serpent was burned accordingly. Was St. Jerome's readiness of belief "a melancholy chapter in the human mind?" (See Newman *on Miracles*, p. xxxii., and Alban Butler's *Life of St. Hilarion*.) In truth, the whole series of Christian Hagiology, from the first, is full of particulars, which Protestants, infidels, and men of the world, regard with the bitterest scorn. The spirit which so regards them, you are bound in consistency (as followers of the first ages), as much as we are, to account as deeply heretical. Now *we* fairly confront the matter; our priests are ever recounting stories, precisely similar in spirit, as among the most edifying examples that can be addressed to congregations; and Catholic peoples have fully learned their lesson on the subject. When we find your writers, not merely not taking part with us in opposing this detestable spirit of unbelief, but positively appealing to it, and taking advantage of it, in order to excite a prejudice against us (and the one I have mentioned is very far from an isolated instance),—you will perhaps hardly believe, how much such phenomena damp all our efforts to sympathise with your struggles, and feel kindly towards you; and how difficult they make it for us to think, that your profession of loyalty to the early ages of the Church is *more* than profession. At one time you speak, as though you had but one wish, that of imbibing the real spirit of early Christianity; at another, you shirk, and try "unostentatiously" to throw overboard, some among the most characteristic and influential elements of that spirit.

Here, then, is one most infallible proof, how deep, radical, and all-pervading, is the contrast between the practical religion of Anglicans and of the first centuries. Another, perhaps equally sure, test, is to be found in the prevalent practices of devotion. I do not mean, of course, that the same religious spirit will lead to

the *very same* devotional practices in different ages and countries ; but it will, most assuredly, to the same *kind* of practices. In the work already alluded to, I earnestly drew the attention of my then co-religionists to an article in the *Dublin Review*, ascribed to Cardinal Wiseman ; in which this parallel was carried out at considerable length. I have no space here for nearly so long an extract as I then made ; but I will give a specimen, referring the inquirer for further particulars to the original article.*

“ We may imagine, if we please, some Persian gentleman of ancient days going on his travels through Christian countries.

“ Not a town does he come to, but he finds the church most frequented, nay crowded with worshippers, to be that of some martyr ; while smaller oratories in every direction are favourite places of prayer, because they commemorate some saint, or contain a portion of his ashes. *Not an altar does he any where see which is not consecrated by their relics.* Before them hang lamps, garlands, and votive offerings ; around them are palls of silk and richest stuffs ; their shrines are radiant with gold and jewels ; the pavement of the temple is covered with prostrate suppliants, with the sick and afflicted, come to ask help and consolation from Christ’s servant ; the pilgrim from afar scrapes, with simple faith, some of the dust from the floor or from the tomb ; the preacher, ay, a Basil, or a Gregory, or a Chrysostom, or an Ambrose, instead of cooling their fervour, adds confidence, earnestness, and warmth to it by a glowing and impassioned discourse in its favour. . . .

“ Again he looks about him. At Antioch he finds the Church of St. Barlaam richly decorated with paintings, but all representing the life and death of the Saint : Christ is introduced, but as if in illustration or by chance, into the picture. At Nola he finds a magnificent Basilica, literally covered with mosaics and inscriptions full of the praises of saints, and especially martyrs. If he descend into the Catacombs, the favourite retreat of devout Christians, what does he find ? Martyrs every where ; their tombs hallow each maze of those sacred labyrinths, and form the altar of every chapel. Their effigies and praises cover the walls ; prayers for their intercession are inscribed on their tablets. He goes into the houses of believers : memorials of the saints every where. Their cups and goblets are adorned with their pictures. . . .

Let any one take the trouble to read any of the miracles recorded by St. Augustine in the 22d book of the *City of God*, and let him apply the

* *Dublin Review* of December 1843.

criterion we have already given, of asking himself, in what class of modern religious writings he could expect to meet with similar occurrences? Take, for instance, the history which he gives of a certain poor tailor at Hippo named Florentius, who being in great want of clothing, and having no means of procuring it, went to the church of 'Twenty Martyrs, and prayed aloud that he might be clothed. Some young men, professed scoffers, overheard him and followed him, jeering him as though he had prayed to these twenty martyrs for fifty pence to buy a coat. The poor old man, however, going his way, found a fish cast on shore yet alive, which he sold, and a gold ring was moreover found in it, and given to him by the honest purchaser, with these words: *See how the twenty martyrs have clothed you.* Now we are pretty sure that many a poor Italian would, in his distress, do just what Florentius did, go to some church of the Blessed Virgin, or of some Saint, and kneeling before the shrine, pray as he did. And we are equally clear, that a party of English Protestant youths overhearing him (the *adolescentes irrisores* now-a-days of Catholic practices), would make as good a joke of the matter as did the young Hippo fashionables. So that it requires little to settle the *dramatis personæ* of St. Augustine's anecdote on transporting it to modern times, and give Catholic and Protestant each his part."

I have never heard of any attempt made by your controversialists to meet the force of similar instances; nor do I see how any fair person can avoid the conclusion, that the popular religion of the fourth century, and the Anglican popular religion of the nineteenth, are in as direct opposition to each other as, *e. g.* Mahometanism and Polytheism are to each other. Both *cannot* be "the Gospel." Nor can you say that this sort of proof is not demonstrative. For, in the first place, to any fair mind, it is fully as demonstrative as the most syllogistically expressed argument; and, in the second place, I am only alleging it for the sake of those who *object* to the more directly argumentative mode of controversy. I began with treating of professed doctrines; and then, to meet every one on his own ground, since many alleged that an Englishman's professed doctrines are very inadequate measures of his real practical belief, I entered upon the latter ground also.

I have no room to enter into a detailed examination such as the foregoing, or indeed any specific examination, of the numberless other particulars, in which I consider that similar charges

can be maintained against your Establishment; and, indeed, all necessity for so doing is superseded, by the observations on the practical religion, prevalent among you, which I have just concluded. Before proceeding to the one further doctrinal subject on which a few remarks seem called for, it may be well to recall to your remembrance the extracts from Jewell's works brought together in the preface to the second series of Froude's *Remains*. A very few of the choicest specimens are all I have here room for:

“When St. Augustine saith, ‘Our sacraments give salvation,’ his meaning is, that our sacraments *teach us* that salvation is *already* come into the world.”

“The holy Fathers say, ‘the sacraments of the new law work salvation,’ because they *teach us* that salvation is *already* wrought.”

“Consecration standeth not in precise and close pronouncing of certain appointed words . . . the word of Faith which we preach . . . is the word of consecration.”

“The things *signified* are no more *contained* in the new sacraments than in the old.”

Now Jewell, as the preface reminds us, “was the chosen advocate and champion of a certain school of the Church,” your reformation school namely, from whom your formularies proceeded; “and this very treatise,” which contains the principal extracts, “was all but accepted by them as a *kind of formulary and official exponent of their views*.”

The one doctrinal subject on which I shall in conclusion touch, is the great ancient doctrine on the Trinity and Incarnation; that doctrine, the essential and unspeakable importance of which there is no need that I shew to one of your sentiments, seeing it is the very boast of your friends, that they regard it as the most precious treasure, the very charter, of the Church. Nor, again, need I occupy myself, I suppose, in proving to *you*, the treatment which this doctrine has ever received from the Calvinistical party. The whole complexion of their theology, the nature of those tenets on which they laid their whole stress, through the very circumstance that it led their minds from dwelling earnestly on these objective truths, would lead them also from expressly tampering with the ancient dogmatic decrees of the Church. A passive assent to these decrees, an otiose

maintenance of these time-honoured *forms*;—and, at the same time, a practical and unconscious stripping them of all substance and consistency, so that at the first rude breath they would crumble away, and leave not a fragment standing;—such is the procedure, which their principles naturally led them to adopt; and such is the fact, which the subsequent history of their successors, whether the “Evangelicals” in England or the Protestants in Germany, has plainly evinced. Father Newman mentions indeed (*Treatises of St. Athanasius*, p. 46), that Luther and Calvin objected to the word “Trinity;” and quotes from the latter the following: “It is a common prayer, ‘Holy Trinity one God, have mercy on us;’ it displeases me, and savours throughout of barbarism:” a fact which shews, how little respect they felt for the received theological language on its own account, when their private fancy inclined them to quarrel with it. Indeed, that the inevitable effect of Calvinism, as to the doctrines in question, is such as I have been urging, I need not, as I just now observed, trouble myself with proving to *you*; because one of the early Tracts (attributed to Father Newman), in which this very connexion was traced and accounted for, met with very general acceptance among your party. And since that time, the rallying of so many “Evangelicals” round Dr. Hampden, in the year 1842, has thrown a light on the same fact, which must have come with unusual effect on every impartial observer.

But what I was certainly not prepared for, is such evidence as that adduced by Father Newman, in his recent lectures, on the alleged orthodoxy of your “*high-church*” divines. Bramhall, it appears, vindicates as orthodox both the Nestorian and Eutychian heretics of the present day. Mr. Palmer (on *the Church*, vol. i. p. 418) not only mentions that Jewell, Usher, and *Laud*, are apparently of this opinion,—*Field* expressly maintains it,—but is also an authority for the following distinct and unmistakeable facts: that the present Nestorians reckon Nestorius and Diodorus and Theodore of Tarsus among the Saints, and anathematise the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon; and that the present Eutychians *continue* to treat the doctrine of the Church as heretical, and to brand those who hold it as *Chalcedonians*. Such is the attitude towards two of the four

first Ecumenical Councils, adopted by a class of men, whom some of your most eminent and "orthodox" theologians include under the name of *Catholic*.

Father Newman, in another place, quotes from Jeremy Taylor a passage, which (heartily as I disliked that writer before, from all I had read of him,) almost overwhelmed me with surprise. His heterodoxy on the subject of Original Sin was sufficiently notorious; but it appears that he much lamented the Nicene Council itself, and calls the question at issue between *Arius* and the Catholics, "*the product of idle brains; a matter so nice, so obscure, so intricate, that it was neither to be explicated by the clergy, nor understood by the people; a dispute of words,*" which "concerned not the worship of God, nor any chief commandment of Scripture;" but was "vain and a toy in respect of the excellent blessings of peace and charity."

Father Newman proceeds: "Taylor is no accident in the history of the 'via media;' he does but speak plainer than Field and Bramhall; and soon others began to speak plainer than he. *The school of Laud gave birth to the Latitudinarians; Hales and Chillingworth, their first masters, were personal friends of the archbishop, whose indignation with them only proves his involuntary sense of the tottering state of his own theological position. Lord Falkland again, who thinks that before the Nicene Council the generality of Christians had not been always taught the contrary to Arius's doctrine, but some one way, others the other, most neither,** was the admired friend

* I may be excused a little digression here; or rather, as my very subject is a contrast between the Anglican and the Catholic Church as to the doctrinal purity which they respectively ensure, it cannot be called a digression. The *Christian Remembrancer*, in its last number (p. 514), gives the following account of the tenets inculcated by a Mr. Ierson, a rationalist: "Our Lord was a mere preacher of natural religion, somewhat in advance of his age; contrary to his intentions, his followers imposed upon this simple germ a mass of traditions, systems, dogmas: Christianity attracted to itself Pauline, Judaising, Roman, Pagan elements by successive accretions, until it became what it is; but entirely by a slow and gradual growth." The writer contends, that this account "of the origin of the existing dogmatic Christianity" is "*substantially identical*" with that of Father Newman. "Directly contradictory" would be the truer statement. But let us look at the reviewer's proof. His whole ground for this most unspeakably disparaging assertion, for this direct ascription to Father Newman of virtual infidelity, is the following passage from his recent lectures: "What Anglicans call the Roman corruptions, were but instances of that very same doctrinal law, which was to be found in the early Church; and in the sense in

of Hammond; and Grotius, whose subsequent influence upon the national divines has been so serious, was introduced to their notice by Hammond and Bramhall" (p. 317, 18).

You, or your friends, surely are bound to notice charges such as these; and if, without attempting to disprove them, you continue to mention these names as bright stars in your theological firmament, what are you but open deserters of all your professions of fealty to the early Church? What are you, according to the original principles of the Oxford movement, but open apostates from the Catholic Faith?

To proceed. From that day to this, the latitudinarian party has had a recognised position in your Church, and has had its full share of ecclesiastical dignities. I need not enlarge on what every one knows; and with merely a brief allusion to the present Bishop of London's testimony that Bishop Hoadly was even a *Socinian*, I will pass on to the phenomena of the present day. Your present Archbishop of Dublin, so far from paying any reverence to the early theological decrees, quotes with the warmest approbation a passage which asserts, that in those ages "the orthodox were dogmatising about the Divine nature with

which the dogmatic truth of the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin may be said in the lapse of centuries to have grown upon the consciousness of individuals, in that same sense did, in the first age, the mystery of the Blessed Trinity also gradually shine out and manifest itself more and more completely before their minds." Now, even supposing this passage were, by itself, ambiguous (which I cannot myself understand), observe the sentence quoted in the text, where Father Newman adduces, as a sufficient exposure of Lord Falkland's heretical "latitudinarianism," that he expresses an opinion far short of Mr. Ierson's. But I would still more earnestly beg the editor's attention to the following passage, which occurs earlier in the above lectures than that quoted, and is, therefore, its necessary interpreter. If Father Newman had been aware of Mr. Ierson's statement, and had wished to express distinctly the precise *contradictory* to it, I see not how he could have used more explicit language. "She," the Catholic Church, he says, "is the organ and oracle, and nothing else, of a supernatural doctrine, which is *independent of individuals, given once for all, coming down from the first ages, and so deeply and intimately embosomed in her*, that it cannot be clean torn out of her, even if you would try; but gradually and majestically comes forth into dogmatic shape, as time goes on and need requires, still by no private judgment, but by the will of its Giver, and by the infallible elaboration of the whole body; and which is simply necessary for the salvation of the soul. . . . It is a *sacred deposit and tradition, &c.*" (p. 182).

As several readers of the *Christian Remembrancer* may not have looked through Father Newman's lectures, I cannot doubt that the editor's sense of justice will lead him to insert this passage, when his attention is drawn to it; in order that his readers may judge for themselves how far he has truly represented Father Newman's doctrine.

a profusion of words, which either had no meaning, or were gross mistakes, or inapplicable metaphors;" adding, that "never does *human folly and learned ignorance* appear in a more disgusting point of view, than in these disputes of Christians."* He gives, as his own belief on the doctrine of the Trinity, something which it is difficult or impossible to distinguish, from the long-since-anathematised heresy of Sabellius.† As to his view on the Incarnation, I criticised it some years ago, in a work to which I have already alluded; but have now the satisfaction of being able to cite a writer, in whom you will place greater confidence. "The theory which dominates" in Dr. Whately, says the author of a very able article in the *Christian Remembrancer*,‡ "and which obviously has possession of his mind, *does not in principle differ from the Socinian one . . .* Persons really look at what he says, and cannot make out that he differs in principle from an Unitarian . . . an explanation is due from him . . . and he is considered *essentially an Unitarian* until" such is given: which it never has been.

Here, then, is an Archbishop of your Church, undeniably almost Sabellian, and considered by your own friends "essentially an Unitarian." Has any single person, bishop, priest, or layman, withdrawn from communion with him in consequence? Has the very idea occurred to any one? Twenty years have elapsed since his Sabellianising opinions were given to the world; since that time, he has been nominated to an archbishopric, and "consecrated" thereto, without so much as an attempt at protest or hindrance. What must be the general feeling, in regard to the very first essentials of orthodoxy, in a community, where such a scandal has not even raised one momentary or isolated remonstrance? Nay, as if to make the fact still stronger, the unpopularity under which at one time his Grace was understood to labour from the general body of his clergy, was by no one attri-

* *Logic*, article "Person."

† He quotes a writer who adduces, as precisely parallel to the case of the Blessed Trinity, Cicero's expression, "Tres personas unus sustineo, meam, adversarii, iudicis;" and says, that this reference will "correct the notion, should any have entertained it, that the views *here taken* [i. e. by himself] are any thing novel."—*Logic*, article "Person."

‡ For July 1845, pp. 179, 180, 181, on Mr. Blanco White.

buted to his open and undisguised heresies, but to his undue toleration of "Popery" in the matter of the National Schools.

Dr. Hampden is another instance. I am spared happily from the painful task of characterising his tenets; because your friends, sir, have, in *this* instance at least, honourably distinguished themselves, by carefully analysing, exposing, and denouncing them. Here the whole strength of all, within your Church, who cared for the primary truths of early Christianity, was brought to bear, and has been signally overmatched. Dr. Hampden is just as truly Bishop of Hereford, as Dr. Philpotts is of Exeter: you are as fully in communion with one as with the other: as unrestricted a liberty is exercised by one as by the other, in deciding what doctrines shall be held a barrier to ordination: if there be any "parish-priests" in the diocese of Hereford, who in any way agree with you in their ecclesiastical ideas, and so care about having "jurisdiction" at all;—they must be content to receive "jurisdiction" from one, whom they denounce as a heretic.

And then, as if to put a sort of burlesque "cumulus" to facts like these,—when you confess to having no power to prevent such persons from having undisturbed possession of your dioceses, —your "high-church" clergy gravely sign documents, which proclaim it to be schismatical and intrusive, that any other person whatever shall claim episcopal powers, in those districts which are already under the Apostolic governance of a Whately or a Hampden.

Such proofs as those already given, are amply sufficient for enabling us to test the soundness of faith, prevalent in your Church, on the very fundamental verities of Christianity. It may be well, however, to add the express and indignant avowal of the imputed fact, put forth by one of your writers; a writer, who, so far from having "Roman tendencies," considers, that "no possible circumstances could justify individual Anglicans in entering the *Romish* communion, short of a general and total apostacy in every other branch of the Church." This writer draws the following contrast, between your "branch" and the Early Church. "Would it not be possible," he asks, "to preach *every heresy* condemned by" the first four "Councils, *in nine pulpits out of ten* in

England, *without a murmur*, to say nothing of a censure? Nay, is it not a fact, that *the clearest heresies, condemned over and over again*, are taught, not only orally, but *in print*; and this, too, *without an attempt*, on the part of the Church, at *canonical and ecclesiastical branding*? Would the Church of the Fathers have permitted, without formal protest, *one half of its clergy to deny Baptismal Regeneration and the Apostolic Succession*? Can we conceive the early Church *disputing and questioning*, whether it did or did not hold *the simplest fundamentals of the Christian faith*? Would not *the communion of Athanasius* have risen as one man, with a voice alike *indignant and uniform*, against what is now *passed over unquestioned*?**

And yet, perhaps, we shall find this very periodical, at the same time, speaking of the Anglican Church as a faithful witness to primitive purity, against the "Roman Catholics;" the "Roman Catholics!" among whom, the humblest layman could not obtain absolution, if he so much as admitted one deliberate doubt of these great verities, unless repenting of such doubt; and among whom the clergy are, without exception, instructed in these dogmatic definitions, as expressing the unquestioned faith of Christ, on the primary and essential mysteries of revealed religion!

And this reminds me of one further circumstance, with which I shall bring the present subject to a close. The Church Catholic, in every age, as beseems her who claims to be a divine messenger, requires that *every one* of her members, and not the clergy only, shall humbly and dutifully receive her message. Among you, as far as laymen are concerned, there is not even that shadow and semblance of a doctrinal test, which is imposed on the clergy: there is literally no security whatever, against a layman receiving "communion" at your "altars," so only he himself wishes to do so, who shall deny, point by point, every article of the creed.

V. Let so much, then, have been said in proof of my assertion, that—in regard to what your own friends call the very foundation of Christian doctrine,—not only there is nothing which they can themselves call any divinely guaranteed security, that it

* *Christian Remembrancer* for November 1843, p. 257; see note, p. 365.

shall be preserved within your Establishment, but also that, as a matter of fact, it *has* been in no sense preserved; that could your Establishment, in other respects, make good a claim to be considered part of the Church of Christ, on your own principles it has long since forfeited that claim, by its habitual admission of omnigenous heresy within its pale.

I now go a step further; and wish to call in question the claims of that Society of which you are a member, to be considered, on *any* ground, more than the mere creation and instrument of the State. I have never, indeed, been able so much as to understand the *meaning* of your controversialists, when they claim for your body, on the ground of its hierarchical constitution, that it is a part of that Society, which was set up by Christ, independently of all temporal sanctions and appointment. When persons say that the Apostolic Empire ended with the life of the Apostles; but that Christians, in later times, have acted wisely in forming themselves into voluntary associations, for the promotion of their common faith; and that Christian governors have acted wisely, in endowing, and otherwise helping forward, religious *establishments* with the same object;—I cannot understand, indeed, how this opinion is reconcileable with historical facts, but I *can* understand its meaning and its bearing. So, again, when (what *we* regard as) the Catholic Church of the present day, claims to be that one Society which was first set up by Christ under the Apostles, this also is an allegation which her very enemies admit to be consistent and intelligible. But when your friends maintain that that Church, once set up, remains indeed to the present day, but consists now of three societies, independent of each other, and greatly divergent (to say the least) in practical teaching; my difficulty lies, in understanding what you *allege* to have been the constitution, given by Christ to His Church. The further task of *proving* your allegation I will waive; but I wish you, if you possibly can, to make me *understand* it. It is very easy, of course, to speak about the exaggerated pretensions of the Holy See, and the doctrinal corruptions of the Roman Church; nor is it very difficult to find isolated passages, in the tangled and complicated history of nineteen centuries, which may give *prima facie* colour to your

charges; though, I most confidently maintain, *only prima facie*. But the practical question surely is, not what the Church is *not*, but what she *is*; and on that matter I wish I could gain one particle of light from your writers. It has been well observed by one of them, that “easy as it may be to say *yes*, it is still easier to say *no*,”—to look a definite and intelligible assertion in the face, and simply deny it. Now I complain, that your controversialists do nothing but say *no*.

Thus, as principal instances of what I mean, and the instances on which I intend specially to speak:—you protest that the Anglican bishops have jurisdiction, but *deny* that they gain it from Rome; and you protest that the Anglican Church has authority in teaching, but *deny* that she is infallible. We ask, then, from *whom* do your bishops gain jurisdiction? and *what* authority does your Church claim as by divine right? and on neither of these questions can we get an answer. To take them in the order I have mentioned.

The ordinary reply, which we receive in controversy, to the first of these questions is, that bishops obtain jurisdiction over their dioceses immediately from Christ. But, as it is difficult to believe that those who thus speak have seriously weighed their words, I will endeavour, before going further, merely to express this as a practical doctrine, and shew some few of its bearings and results.

Every bishop, it seems then, who is in peaceful and undisturbed possession of his diocese, has jurisdiction over it given him immediately by Christ, and independently of any other human authority. He who, in any place, wishes to join that Society, of which all are required to be members on pain of damnation, must put himself under the authority of the professing bishop of that place. I might say a great deal, on the ever-recurring difficulty of knowing who *is* the bishop of a diocese, and what *constitutes* undisputed possession; but I pass by this, because I wish to come more nearly to the root of the matter. One thing, however, I must point out, *viz.* that your judging a man a *heretic*, is *no* reason for your doubting him to be the legitimate bishop. For you maintain Dr. Hampden to be heretical in doctrine; and your own writers (as I have shewn) call Dr.

Whately even an essential Unitarian : moreover, Dr. Philpotts has renounced communion with Dr. Sumner, on the very ground (I suppose) that the latter, by tolerating heretics, is to be treated as such himself.* Yet, none of you allege, that the inhabitants of the archdioceses of Canterbury, York, and Dublin, or the diocese of Hereford, are outside the Church, and under sentence of damnation, because they have no bishop, except an heretical one. Heresy, therefore, is not of itself any disproof of a person's claims to be the true bishop. If you say otherwise, indeed, you only open the way to other entanglements and difficulties ; but I assume the answer which your position necessitates.

It does not *follow* from this statement, but is merely the same statement in other words, that no one who has once been the legitimate bishop of a place, can by possibility be excommunicated. He receives his jurisdiction immediately from Christ ; and though he may indeed voluntarily resign it, none, therefore, but Christ can take it away. The inhabitants of Constantinople, in the time of Nestorius, incurred the pain of damnation, if they quitted the heretic's communion ; and on the other hand, if the Bishop of Exeter or Oxford were to leave the Establishment, every inhabitant of those dioceses, clergymen and laymen, must, on pain of eternal punishment, follow him into his new position.

Again, *one* primary duty, at least, of every bishop is, to watch over purity of faith within his diocese, and use his spiritual weapons for its preservation. Supposing, therefore, that Dr. Philpotts in any way realised the words he uses, when he claims jurisdiction immediately from Christ,—it would follow that he is bound, as he would avoid deliberate mortal sin, solemnly to warn all members of his diocese, under pain of ecclesiastical censures, to avoid Mr. Gorham's ministrations, and seek orthodox teaching elsewhere. On the other hand, by the same principle, Dr. Hampden is bound, at least peremptorily to *silence* all members of his diocese who, on *his* views, corrupt the purity of the Gospel ;

* I gave the reason for this in my former letter. The contradictory of any heresy is, by force of the terms, an expressly revealed truth of God. Now, whether Dr. Sumner does or does not, as a matter of private opinion, agree with Mr. Gorham, he does *not* consider the contradictory of Mr. Gorham's tenet to be part of God's expressly revealed doctrine. Those, therefore, who *do* consider it such, must regard Dr. Sumner as a heretic.

specially, therefore, all upholders of that technical dogmatic system, which he regards as the very *principal* of such corruptions. A Herefordshire man, who wishes to express devotion and admiration for the ancient theological decrees, must either leave Herefordshire, or, being excluded from Dr. Hampden's church for refusing to keep silence, must expect condemnation hereafter.

For, moreover, any man or body of men would be simply intruders on Christ's prerogative, who should profess in any way to control a bishop in the exercise of his high office. He will act very wrongly, of course, if he do not pay due deference to the counsels of others wiser than himself, and if he do not weigh well the reasons adduced on opposite sides of any controverted question. Still, in the last resort, he must act *on his own discretion*: jurisdiction over the sheep of his fold has been given by Christ to *him*, and to no one besides: what *he* in his conscience believes to be pernicious, no human authority can excuse him for tolerating; what he believes sound, no human authority can excuse him for excluding. Some Scotch Episcopalians the other day, in your pages, protested against the undue preponderance, in their communion, of the Episcopal Council, over individual bishops; adding, that the constitution of their Church gives to the former authority, only in cases of *appeal*. But if the principle I am here discussing were true, *any* attempt of the Episcopal Council to interfere with an individual bishop, whether in case of appeal or otherwise, is *ipso facto* null and void; besides involving in grievous sin those who make it. For the principle is, that each diocese is committed *immediately* by Christ, not to any aggregate of bishops, but to one individual bishop.

Nor would the case be in the least altered, were vows of obedience to some Metropolitan, or to the laws of some Society, taken by each bishop. Such vows must be *ipso facto* null and void; because no one is at liberty so to tie his own hands, as to be debarred from acting faithfully up to a trust, committed to him by Christ Himself. If I made the most solemn promise or vow in the world to put my children under some specified schoolmaster, and afterwards found this schoolmaster pursue a line of discipline which, in my conscience, I believed injurious to morality, there is not a casuist living who would hold me bound to

my promise. Why? because the duty of religiously educating my children is one of prior obligation. And in like manner, the most solemn vow could never exempt from grievous sin a bishop, who should tolerate what *he* firmly believed to be heresy, in his diocese; a diocese committed by Christ, *not* to any Metropolitan, *nor* to any Church, but (as the very terms of the theory expressly specify) *immediately* to *him*. Not the *breaking*, but the *taking*, vows of obedience would be the sin; and the Bishop of Exeter, when he tolerates Mr. Gorham in obedience to a "law of the Church," is (on his own principles) simply obeying man in preference to obeying God.

To hunt this phantom-theory any further, would be like running a worn-out joke to death. Otherwise I might enlarge on the additional complications, arising from the history of the non-jurors; I might not content myself with this mere allusion, to the undoubted principle, that every one who deliberately intends, under given circumstances, to commit mortal sin, is in a state of mortal sin *ipso facto*; and to the consequent circumstance, that, on this principle, every single bishop, and every single layman, of the "Roman Catholic," yes, and of the "Greek" Church, being fully resolved, if in England, *not* to communicate with your bishops, is, at this moment, in mortal sin. *Sed de his satis.*

I cannot seriously imagine, then, that this most extraordinary tenet is really held by any thoughtful men among you; and yet I can find no other, even hinted at. Being left to my own imagination, the only one I can devise is, that jurisdiction comes to each bishop *through* the general body of bishops; and the language one sometimes hears about an appeal to a future Œcumenical Council, seems to give some sanction to this. And yet *this* theory, when examined, unless identical with ours, becomes no less a phantom than the former. For is it meant that each bishop derives his jurisdiction from the fact, that he is one of a body of bishops, in communion with each other and with the Holy See? This is merely expressing, in another shape, the very truth, which is more accurately enunciated by the received Catholic phraseology; viz. that each bishop derives his jurisdiction from the Pope. If this be not the meaning,

what is? Is it a *majority* of the bishops dispersed throughout the world, that confers jurisdiction on each individual of their number? The question, in that case, whether Nestorius did or did not retain his episcopal powers, would depend on the inquiry, on which side were the *majority* of bishops? and so in regard to other ecclesiastical excommunications. But on one particular, according to such a theory, there would be *no* question, viz. that not one of your bishops has any jurisdiction whatever; for an overwhelming majority of the bishops dispersed throughout Christendom agree in denying it to them.

In a word, when your controversialists deny to the Pope a divinely-given Supremacy, we have surely a right to expect from them a distinct explanation, not only of what they do *not* believe, but of what they *do*. If any positive statement whatever has yet been put forward on this subject, except the ridiculous one I first commented on, I am not aware of the circumstance; and I would beg of you, either to draw my attention to any such statement, or to put one forward yourself. In either case, if any *substance* is brought forward into the field of argument, I unhesitatingly pledge myself beforehand to enter the lists against it; but I cannot occupy any further time in fighting against shadows.

VI. The other particular above alluded to—the claim to ecclesiastical authority, short of infallibility—I might easily treat in the same summary manner, as the one already disposed of; and indeed, in the course of my observations, I hope to do so. But I think it, on the whole, better to do more than this. Many of your writers seem to take for granted, that we base our belief in the Church's infallibility on no historical ground whatever; but partly on certain assumptions (warranted or otherwise) in regard to the requirements of human nature, and partly on a reference to the vast and consistent fabric of dogma, which, as a matter of fact, has been reared upon that belief. You yourself, sir, in a late number, made a complaint somewhat similar; and I may mention, as other instances, Mr. Marriott's recent sermons, with a preface, "On the principles of faith and Church authority;" and also an article in the last *Christian Remembrancer*, on Mr. Archer Butler's Remains. The latter

article has especially struck me, as an argument drawn out with exemplary candour and equitableness of tone, with very conspicuous ability, and evidently with the deepest and most genuine sincerity, in behalf of conclusions, which I cannot but regard as, both historically and theologically, false, even to extravagance. I cannot profess, however, to have had this article before my mind in what follows; for most of it was written before I had an opportunity of seeing the article in question. I here refer to it, because it affords an instance of an unusually able and thoughtful writer, implying throughout, as an incontrovertible assumption, that we do not *profess* historical proof for the doctrine of Infallibility; that we do not *attempt* to defend it, except on *à priori* grounds.

I cannot profess, of course, in a pamphlet, to copy out the various citations from the Fathers and from Ecclesiastical History, which are to be found in our controversial writers. But it has often struck me, that the thread of argument, which is intended to bind together these separate citations, in a most astonishing way escapes the notice of those on your side; insomuch that arguments of the most cogent and unanswerable kind, are not recognised by you as having any force whatever. I wish, therefore, to draw your attention to the general chain of reasoning, presupposed by *our* writers, and so strangely unobserved by *yours*.

I altogether abandon any attempt to construct an argument on *à priori* ideas of what might have been expected from God. The slightest and most informal communication of truth from Him, would have been inestimably precious; as indeed, in regard to almost all the earth during many centuries, and to great parts of the earth during all centuries, no regularly authenticated and guaranteed revelation *has* been given. The question, according to my apprehension, turns, not on what we should have expected, but on what we actually find;—on the nature of that teaching which we see, as a matter of fact, to have accompanied the first promulgation of the Gospel.

Indeed, while, on the one hand, we should have had great reason to give God hearty thanks for much less light than He has in fact given,—on the other hand, to all appearance, He might have made His revelation the organ of still higher blessings. It

would be a great blessing, for example (as far as we can see), if *each individual* were favoured with a direct and unmistakeable revelation of the truth; and a still greater (we may add), if Christians had been endued with the power of sinlessness, nay with grace efficaciously preserving them from sin. Such gifts as these had been unspeakable benefits; but, as a plain matter of fact, they have not been vouchsafed to Christians. Let us look back, then, at Apostolic times, and see what *were* the benefits held out for the acceptance of a blind and sinful world.

Before the Christian epoch, (apart from Judaism,) there was no authoritative standard of religion or morality. If any wished to live on higher than worldly motives, no assemblage of doctrines and principles offered itself for their acceptance, purporting to be *the* one truth; no distinct authoritative voice was heard, but only the clamorous vociferations, whether of the people at large, or of rival philosophers. One man accordingly made mere popular opinion his standard of right; another this or that sect; another looked doubtfully about from one to the other; the great majority, even of those who might have conceived momentary aspirations for what was higher and nobler, would be driven back to the mire of merely selfish objects and interests, by the apparent impossibility of obtaining any certain knowledge of moral and spiritual truth. To the great mass it would never even occur, to seek for aught higher and truer than what they found ready at hand; and any combined action of the higher and nobler spirits on their mind, was rendered impossible, by the incurable divergences of opinion among the former, and their mutual contests. And as regarded their own moral advancement, the absence of all witness to that one moral system which is the correlative to human nature in its entirety, and which alone is able to elicit its highest and choicest qualities;—the absence (I say) of all witness to this system, and the consequent parcelling out of moral truth into mere scraps and fragments, overthrew all possibility (speaking generally) of elevated and consistent virtue.

This was that deep and festering evil, incurable except by interposition from above, which the Gospel professed to remedy. It enforced distinctly and emphatically the one true ethical code; and (still and even incomparably higher blessing to poor human

nature !) it disclosed high spiritual truths concerning God and His dealings with man, of the most transporting and elevating character ; truths which (as one may say) swallowed up morality into religion, stamped an eternal value on every little action of every day, and moreover (where duly received) gave to the whole religious and moral character that harmony and proportion, for which man had before possessed the materials, but not the power ; the external form, but not the quickening, animating spirit. It abolished, so far as knowledge of truth is concerned, all essential distinction between the stronger and the weaker minds ; between those who had leisure and faculties for speculative inquiries, and those who were immersed in the tumult of worldly affairs. One fixed code of doctrine was securely offered to the busy ; while the speculative had no further privilege, than that of analysing, systematising, and carrying forward to its results, this one code. The weaker minds were enabled to accept and know this ; the stronger were obliged to bow down before it. Thus it both evoked a degree of moral and spiritual energy, so incommensurably greater than any which before existed, as to open quite a new idea of the capacities of human nature ;—and also enabled that energy to act directly, and without drawback, for the benefit of mankind, by effecting, or rather even necessitating, a common ground for union and sympathy. And in saying this, I must not be supposed to forget (what, however, is not to my immediate purpose), that under the Gospel it is no longer merely “*human nature*” which energises ; but that a heavenly presence is given to dwell in the soul, and heavenly aids to excite towards all good.

I shall return to this at a later stage of my argument ; I now proceed to a further observation. It is perhaps conceivable that the truths, so offered, might have been imparted in one or other of the two modes, respectively advocated by (what I must call) the opposite forms of misbelief, which exist among pious and earnest minds in England at this moment. It is perhaps conceivable, that *Sacred Writings* should have been given into the hands of each convert, in order that he might construct his own religion from their perusal ; or that some sacred form of words should be given to each, as precisely containing the essentials and funda-

mentals of true doctrine. It is perhaps conceivable; but the fact plainly and indubitably was otherwise. I say it is *perhaps* conceivable; for if we consider that the first Christians had, in a vast number of instances, been converts from nothing less than heathenism, and that at a time when it wore one of its most corrupt and degrading forms; that from dense and stifling darkness, with eyes clouded and enfeebled, they were brought directly within the influence of the purest light which ever visited this world;—if we consider, still more emphatically, how vast an extent of ground is covered by the Christian Revelation;—how that it embraces all spiritual and moral truth;—how that it includes at one side mysteries wholly alien to all experience or past conception, of the most startling (and, one may say) bewildering character, and exposed to an indefinite number of heretical corruptions, in exact proportion to the inexhaustible variety of aspects presented by them to the human mind;—how that it includes also, at the other side, a most definite moral code, which must bring it into conflict with every sect of philosophy, past, present, and future:—if we consider all this, it may well be doubted, whether it was even possible (except by direct miracle) that these supernatural objects and principles *could* be even rightly apprehended by them; far less could obtain any real hold on them; and far less still, could become the leading principle of their lives; unless some far more potent means had been employed, than such merely mechanical contrivances as those above mentioned. It was by incorporating Christians, then, into a living Society, that this great object was effected; by bringing them, and *retaining* them, in direct contact with those, who had learned the truth by special inspiration.

We all know the subtle, but most efficacious, influences communicated through the various waves (as it were) of some organised society. We know, in how inexplicable, and yet undeniable a degree, feelings and prepossessions, which are acted on as first principles, and which are ordinarily unassailable by argument, are implanted by the various associations, habits, usages, in one word, by the general *tone* of such a body; what a mysterious sympathy spreads through the mass, and conveys into the very heart of each individual, a share in the peculiar life and character of the whole! And we know, again, the astonishing

power possessed by any person of extraordinary wisdom and genius, of spreading round himself, as it were, an atmosphere of his own; an atmosphere, which gives to his direct lessons and admonitions a quite incomparably deeper force, than they would otherwise have. Both these powerful moral engines were united in the constitution of the Apostolic Church.

Nor is it at all out of compass to suppose, (I mean, it is no more than might well follow under the circumstances), that by the help of such unspeakably efficacious instruments, the Apostles might have fully succeeded, before their death, in deeply imbuing their disciples with the Christian ideas;—in enforcing on the mind of the Church as a whole, and of individuals in different degrees, not only, 1st. that one true impression of the great Objects of Faith, the Sacred Trinity, and our adorable Saviour, which the whole series of Ecclesiastical Definitions, down to the ‘Una Res’ of the 4th Lateran, and the Anti-adoptionism of the Council of Frankfort, most inadequately indeed represents, yet indicates and shadows forth; 2d. that deep perception of the Christian’s hidden life, and the dealings of God with the soul, which the various decrees on Original Sin, Justification, Grace, Merit, and the like, have partially put into doctrinal shape, but which is far indeed, as yet, from being intellectually exhausted; 3d. that accurate knowledge of true ethical principles, which admits of being applied to successive complications of circumstances; which, were the world to last for indefinite centuries to come, would yet give one, and one only response (whether *we* can discover it or no), in every such complication; and which has, in small part, been (as we maintain) authoritatively and infallibly so applied, in the various decisions of the Church on moral questions; the Apostles might have deeply indoctrinated the Church’s mind, I say, not only with these three great essentials, but with an indefinite number of practical habits, principles, and rules, which were handed down (as it were) unconsciously and in the mass to the next generation; which have become the traditionary maxims of the Church; and have been the human means of leading her safely in many a conjuncture, and guiding her aright in many a perplexity. And all this, of course, over and above their direct and formal teaching, on the various matters of positive ordinance; the Sacraments

and holy rites ordained by Christ or by themselves, the power of the keys, the perpetuity of the Church, her divinely-appointed bond of union, and other such vitally essential particulars.

As to the value, however, of this *illustration* and *comment* on the broad Scriptural fact to which I have adverted, you may, of course, have your own opinion; you may call it, if you will, a hypothetical comment, or a false illustration. But the broad Scriptural fact remains as it was, and can be *no* matter of opinion. Christians, contemporary with the Apostles, were formed into one visible and organised society, under the governance of those who were divinely inspired to teach them; as truly and as fully a visible and organised society, as England is, or Austria; differing only from such bodies politic, as being held together, not by temporal, but by spiritual sanctions. The authoritative teaching, again, was not confined to new and supernatural matter, but was to the full as distinct and emphatic, in declaring explicitly to their understandings, and pressing urgently on their consciences the principles of natural religion and morality. A Jew or Gentile, who desired salvation, was obliged to submit himself at once, both to the instruction and to the government of the Divine missionaries. He might have been attracted to them by some one doctrine, or some one appointed usage; but in joining them, he laid himself under the obligation of humbly accepting he knew not what unknown body of other doctrines and usages; some (it may be) at first indefinitely repulsive and distasteful. The spread of the Gospel, again, was the propagation of this Apostolic Empire; the two proceeded *pari passu* together, or rather were one and the same thing, not separable even by the intellect. As a flock look to a shepherd for guidance, or children to a parent, and never in their very dreams separate the idea of humbly learning from that of willingly obeying;—so was it with the first Christians. With them, to be within the Church, was salvation; to be without it, eternal ruin: and to be within the Church, implied in its very nature to be obedient to its laws and governance, and to be gradual recipients of its doctrine. With them, to be taught and to be governed, to be taught doctrine and to be taught morals, were not two different things, but different aspects of one and the same thing. St. Timothy and

Titus are appointed, in their respective spheres, as the Apostles' delegates; and accordingly, to "preach the word," "to rebuke them that sin," "to rebuke sharply" "disobedient vain-talkers and seducers," "that they may be sound in the faith;" "to keep" the doctrine "committed to their trust," are all, as a matter of course, included in their commission. The Apostolic College issues decrees of discipline to the whole Christian world; and, as a matter of course, Paul and Silas delivered these decrees "in the cities they passed through," as matters of obligation on all believers. The most powerful and original minds, again, must bow humbly before the very same doctrines, which are the strength and support of the weakest and most ordinary of the brethren.

The question now arises, Was this polity merely a temporary one, intended to last during the lifetime of the inspired Apostles; or was it intended to be commensurate in its duration with Christianity itself?

In answer to this question, let me first allude briefly to the anticipations and descriptions of Christ's Kingdom contained in the Gospels and Epistles; for as these receive their interpretation from the history of the Apostles, so, in return, they reflect light on that history. Observe the passages which call the Church "the house of God," "the body of Christ," "compact and joined together," "one fold," "the pillar and ground of the truth:" passages like these, on the one hand, taken in connexion with the admitted facts of Apostolic times, most unmistakably designate such a political organisation as above described; yet, on the other hand, they have surely far too much of a doctrinal character, to be referrible to a merely temporary stage of Christianity. Again, the Church is called the "*Kingdom of Christ*:" surely the word 'Kingdom' must refer to this very political organisation whereof I have been speaking; yet it is not called the kingdom of the *Apostles*, but of *Christ*. Was Christ to sit "*on the throne of David His Father*," only till St. John ceased to live, or rather, till "He had put all His enemies under His feet?"

But the following consideration must put the matter beyond all doubt. "Even in the Apostles' lifetime," says Father Newman, "the Gospel had spread East, West, and South, far and wide, and the Church with it. Multitudes had been converted

in all nations, and the Apostles were the acknowledged rulers of these multitudes. So wide and well-connected a polity there was not on the earth, even before their martyrdoms, except the Roman Empire itself, which was the seat of it." Now that Christians should have been gathered from all lands, into one well and carefully-organised Kingdom, a Kingdom differing in essential principles from any which the world had seen, (for it differed from the Jewish, both in the Catholicity of its Empire, and the spirituality of its sanctions); and yet that, in one short century, this whole Kingdom was to be dissolved into its original elements; — this is a possible hypothesis, certainly: but no less certainly it is an improbable one, and requiring very singular and direct proof. This also is quite certain, that if the case were so, the day of St. John's death would have been the most startling epoch in the Church since the day of Pentecost. St. John's contemporaries, of course, knew what was the doctrine he delivered on this point; and if the dissolution of the Visible Church (as I above described it) had been that doctrine, forthwith, on his death, this mighty fabric would have been allowed to crumble into pieces. The new rule of faith would have been promulgated, whether private judgment on Holy Scripture, or some sacred form of Apostolic words; and no obedience would have been further due from presbyter to bishop, or from layman to presbyter, beyond that which is paid to the officers of any voluntary association, which individuals may quit at their pleasure. Facts, I need not say, are critically and precisely opposed to this. St. John's death, instead of the most important event in the annals of the Church, passes in history almost *sub silentio*. The government of inspired men was gradually exchanged for the government of uninspired, by a natural and easy succession; no trace, even the most distant, can be found of any rule of faith except the Apostolic one,—obedience to the voice of the Visible Church; and the Church of the second century occupied, as of right, the very same position with the Church of the first.

In illustration of my remark on the Rule of Faith, I may cite a passage written many years back, (I believe, by Father Newman,) in defence, however, of the Anglican, as distinguished from the "Roman" doctrine, and accepted generally by the (then) new

Oxford party. "It is quite certain," says the writer, "from the writings of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Vincent, to mention no other authorities, that from the times of the Apostles there was a certain body of doctrine in the Church Catholic, called the *dogma fidei* or *depositum*, transmitted from bishop to bishop, and taught to every member of it. It was too vast, too minute, too complicated, to be put into writing, at least in times of persecution and proselytism." We may go further than this, I think; and maintain the intrinsic impossibility of committing it to writing or to words, except by slow degrees, and (ordinarily) as its various portions are elicited into distinct shape by emerging heresies. "It was for the most part," he proceeds, "conveyed orally, and the safeguard against its corruption was, first, the unanimity of the various branches of the Church in declaiming it; next, the canon of Scripture which acted as a touchstone, &c." This sentence I do not pursue, as unnecessary to my purpose, and requiring comment and explanation. "As regards its outlines, this dogma, or *regula fidei*, as it was called, was from the first fixed in a set form of words called the Creed; the articles of which were heads and memoranda of the Church's teaching, and, as such, were rehearsed and accepted by every candidate for Baptism, by way of avowing his adherence to *that entire doctrine which the Church was appointed to dispense*. These articles varied somewhat in the different branches of the Church; but inasmuch as they were but heads and tokens of the Catholic doctrine, and when developed and commented on implied each other, this argued no difference in the tradition, of which they were the formal record. This account of the matter, if correct, shews us the mistake of considering, as some have done, that the fact of the Creed being the initiatory confession of the Church, involved a latitudinarian principle in primitive times. This is maintained by Episcopius; who argues as if, because the words 'Son of God' stood nakedly in some of the early creeds, therefore they might allowably be taken in any sense which the humour of individuals imagined, as well as in that one sense in which the Nicene Fathers afterwards developed it. Bishop Bull shews this was not true as regards that high article of doctrine; and the same might be shewn of all the rest." The writer proceeds to quote, in a note,

Bull's capital maxim. "Symbola certe Ecclesiæ ex ipso Ecclesiæ sensu, non ex hæreticorum cerebello exponenda sunt. Symbola Ecclesiæ non tenet, qui aliter quam Ecclesia intelligit." And further on, he quotes from Vincent and Tertullian earnest cautions against being led to join issue with heretics on the ground of *Scripture*. "They never advance their peculiar positions," says the former, "without attempting to express it in Scripture language." "I do not advise appeal to the Scriptures," says the latter; "it is a ground on which there can be either no victory, or a doubtful one, or one as good as doubtful."*

I have already observed, that I make no profession of copying out the various patristic passages cited by our controversialists. In illustration of my present point, I would refer you to that admirable work, Mr. Waterworth's *Faith of Catholics*; which

* *British Critic* for July 1836, pp. 187-8, 198. This maxim of Bishop Bull's, if sufficiently considered, affords a reply to a position sometimes advanced, and among others by yourself, sir, in your review of Mr. Mayow's reply to Mr. Maskell. It is argued, namely, that the Anglican Church is sufficiently dogmatic, because she retains all the definitions of doctrine put forth by the "undivided Church." The latter implication, viz. that the Church *can* be divided, will come into notice some pages on; and in what sense your Establishment can be said to teach *any* doctrine, is also a matter presently to be considered. But as to the main assertion, it is no other than has been made by every class of heretics in every age. The Nestorians fully received, *as far as the words went*, the decrees of Nice and Constantinople; the Church excommunicated them, because they denied a part of her doctrine, not which *had* been put into shape, but which had *not*. Yet you will allow that, from their first rise, the Nestorians were absolutely and odiously heretical. The fact, then, (were it a fact) of your Establishment holding the decrees of every Ecumenical Council up to the very Council of Trent, but exclusively of that, would not even tend to shew, that its principles are not absolutely and odiously heretical also.

I may take this opportunity of noticing another most extraordinary allegation, gravely brought forward as an argument by some of your writers; viz. that the early Church held her doctrines far less systematically, than the mediæval or modern Catholic. But there is no single fact, more broadly and palpably impressed on the features of the early Church, than her habit, when any one doctrine was attacked, of *immediately* stating it in a scientific and systematic shape. Witness, as two out of a hundred obvious instances, St. Cyril's well known twelve anathemas, and the decrees of the Council of Orange against the Pelagians. Since new heresies arise in every age, it is no very marvellous circumstance, that the amount of doctrine systematised is ever increasing. And again, such writers as St. Thomas, had leisure and gifts, for mapping out scientifically even those provinces of theology, hitherto unsullied by heresy. But the *principle* of systematising doctrine, is among the most undeniable, and indeed generally obnoxious, principles of the early Church.

may probably be ranked as one of the most imperishable contributions to controversial literature, which the present generation has produced. That unanswerable work, *Klee on the Church*, has also been translated into English, and throws great light on the whole subject. I can but give a few specimens, which will, I hope, lead my readers to search for more, in the same repertory whence these are adduced.

Now, to see how thoroughly, from the earliest times, the doctrine of the continuance of the Church's organisation, and man's insalvability out of her communion, was part of the Fathers' minds, see St. Clement's famous *Epistle to the Corinthians*. Thus :

“Do ye therefore submit yourselves to the priests, and be instructed into repentance for it is better for you to be found in *the sheep-fold of Christ*, little and approved, than thinking yourselves above others *to be cast out of His hope*. . . . Our Apostles . . . appointed the aforesaid (bishops and deacons), and then gave directions *in what manner, when they should die, other men should succeed them*.”—(Waterworth, vol. i. pp. 11, 12, 251.)

It is, of course, necessarily implied in this, that the post-apostolic Church is, in all essential features, a successor to the Apostolic; and therefore in the very primary one, of teaching pure Christian doctrine. This is expressly mentioned in such passages as the following :

“St. Ignatius, martyr, to the Trallians : ‘I exhort you therefore . . . to abstain from the strange herb, which is heresy. . . From such men keep yourselves guarded; and *guarded ye will be*, if ye are not puffed up, and separated from Jesus Christ our Lord, and *from the bishop*, and from the rules laid down by the Apostles. He that is within the altar is pure.’ To the Philadelphians : ‘Do ye, then, being children of light and truth, avoid division and *corrupt doctrines*; but *where your Shepherd is, there follow as sheep*; for there be many wolves; . . . but *in your unity* they shall have no place.’ To the Magnesians : ‘Study therefore to be *confirmed in the doctrines* of the Lord and of the Apostles . . . under *your most excellent bishop and your presbytery*.’”

St. Theophilus, in a work which Mr. Waterworth dates at the year 182:

“As in the sea there are inhabited and well-watered and fruitful islands, with ports and harbours, *that they that are tempest-tossed may find shelter in them*; so to the world, agitated and tossed by sins, God hath given holy churches, in which, *as in harbours, are the doctrines of the truth.*”

From St. Irenæus it is very difficult to make a selection, such a multitude of passages press on our notice. Thus:

“We ought not to seek among others for the truth, which *it is easy to receive from the Church*; seeing that the Apostles *have brought together most fully into it*, as into a rich repository, all whatever is of truth” (vol. i. pp. 253, 4).

The bishops are they to whom the Apostles “entrusted the very Churches.” For “they sought that they, whom they left as successors, *delivering unto them their own office as teachers and governors* (suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes), should be especially perfect and blameless in all things, &c.”

The Church,

“having *spread over the whole world* to the earth’s boundaries, having received, both from the Apostles and their disciples, the faith in one God, &c. . . . *guards* [this faith] *sedulously, as though dwelling in one house*; and these truths she *uniformly* holds, as having but *one soul and one and the same heart*” (pp. 125, 6).

And again:

“He will judge all those who are *out of the truth*, that is, *out of the Church*” (p. 129).

It is unnecessary to pursue these quotations to a later period, because at every successive step they become more unmistakable; and the work, from which I have quoted, is very readily accessible. But another remark should be added. Look at the quotations called “Records of the Church,” which appeared in the first volume of the *Tracts for the Times*, on the rule of faith; and which were the foundation, on which the whole religious movement of 1833 proceeded. I confidently affirm, that there is no *hint* to be found in them, of any independent or historical way of arriving at a real knowledge of the Apostolic Traditions; no other way, than of listening to the voice of the existing Churches: whether the Churches generally, or the Apostolic

Churches in particular, is irrelevant to our immediate subject.*

Now this deserves very serious attention. If the Apostolic "depositum" were separable, even in idea, from the living wit-

* The well-known work of Vincentius Lirinensis has been very generally represented by your friends, as containing the tenet which I have been assailing; viz. the existence of some external and historical standard, whereby the doctrines of the present Church may be tested. Father Penny, of the Oratory, some years ago, drew attention to the great error of this supposition, in an excellent work called, "The Exercise of Faith impossible except in the Catholic Church." First, he draws attention to Vincentius's most express words (p. 132, Oxf. Tr.), heresies are not "always, nor all, after this sort to be impugned, but only such as be *new and upstart*; to wit, *at their first springing up*." And so at starting he speaks of "finding out the fraud of heretics *daily springing up*" (p. 8). "Secondly," asks Father Penny, "what does Vincent mean by *Antiquity*? We shall see this the more easily, by bearing in mind what term he opposes to it; this term is 'novelty;' and he has clearly explained what he means by 'novelty,' limiting it to 'the first springing up of a heresy.' Antiquity, therefore, in his acceptation, extends *up to the time when the novelty commences*, that is, when the new heresy starts up." This is quite evident to any one who will read the treatise with even moderate candour and attention. One instance is, Vincentius's choice of those Fathers whose writings are to be our guide. He does not speak, according to the language of your school, about "going back to those who lived nearest to Apostolic times;" such a notion is not to be found in the whole treatise. "Consult the opinions," he says (p. 13), "of those Fathers only, which, living at *divers times* and sundry places, yet *continuing in the communion and faith of one Catholic Church*, were approved masters and guides to be followed." "Those Fathers' opinions only are to be conferred together, which, with holiness, wisdom, and constancy, lived, taught, and continued, in *the faith and communion of the Catholic Church*" (p. 133). You see, he is speaking all through of some *new* heresy, on which the Church has not yet spoken, and is giving tests whereby contemporaries might at once discover its real nature; and he assumes, as a first principle, that those who lived "in the faith and communion of the Catholic Church," were, of course, orthodox. He expresses the same thing still more distinctly, in the following comment on God's dealings with heretics (p. 93). "This is the reason why, when out of the safe port of the Catholic faith, they are shaken, tossed, and almost killed with storms and troubles," viz. in order "that they should" give up their novelties, "and so retire, and *keep themselves within the most sure port of their calm and good mother*, . . . and drink of the flowing rivers of lively and pure water." Words cannot express more clearly the Church's office, as divinely guaranteed guardian of the faith. Nay, he distinctly recognises the duty, not merely of *handing down* the faith, but of analysing it and viewing it in its mutual relations. "That which men before believed *obscurely*, let them by thy exposition understand *more clearly*. Let posterity rejoice for coming to the understanding of that by thy means, which Antiquity, *without* that understanding, had in veneration" (p. 101). And the often-quoted passage on *development*, bears in the same direction; of which one or two short extracts will sufficiently remind my readers. "Fitting it is, that the understanding, knowledge, and wisdom . . . of the Church in general should, by the advance of ages, *abundantly increase and go forward*." . . . "Christian doctrine . . . with years must wax more sound, *with time become more ample*, yet remain incorrupt and entire." It is im-

ness and voice of the Church,—if it admitted of being fully communicated in a certain given number of propositions,—what possible meaning could we assign, to such very strong expressions, as “the Church *sedulously* guards it;” “holds as having one soul and one heart;” “tempest-tossed men find shelter in holy Churches, in which, *as in harbours*, are the doctrines of the truth?” Let this given number of propositions be reduced to writing, or to memory, the Church’s office of *guarding* is at an end. Once admit, on the other hand, such principles as those above stated, every thing becomes intelligible and natural. The Church is put in trust with a treasure,—on the one hand, infinitely precious; yet, on the other hand, of so delicate, supernatural, spiritual a quality, that it readily and imperceptibly admits of corruption, unless “*sedulously guarded*,” that it cannot be rightly received, except by those who are imbued with the very principles which it inculcates or presupposes, and who are therefore “of one soul and one heart;” that it cannot be communicated in words, but must be learned in some far more intimate and far-reaching way, by means of fleeing into the Churches commissioned to teach it, as “tempest-tossed men flee into harbours.”

It is not necessary for my argument, however, to do more than draw attention to the fact, which no one, of whatever opinions, can possibly dispute; viz. that, in this early period, a firm guarantee for the truth of the Church’s teaching, was considered the very correlative to her claim of dogmatical authority; and was, in fact, the one sole foundation, on which any Father ever dreamt of making that authority rest. Nor is it difficult, (though, again, in no way essential to my argument,) to see wherein this possible, surely, for language to be further removed than this is, from giving the slightest sanction to any habit, of appealing against any doctrines of the later Church, by a reference to the records of earlier times.

Indeed, so obviously is this truth impressed on every page of the treatise, that the editor of certain selections from it, in the second volume of the *Tracts for the Times*, although himself designating the “corruptions of the Roman Church” as “a most deplorable and astounding instance” of error, yet admits that Vincentius “never anticipated such an occurrence” as the “admission of error in” any branches of the Church. Vincentius, he says, “considers the Church to possess within it that principle of health and vigour, which *expels heresies out of its system*, without its suffering more than a temporary disarrangement from them.” I should add, that Father Newman has since acknowledged these annotations as his.

guarantee consisted. St. Ignatius, indeed, does not specifically mention; coming, I suppose, as the Church then was, from under the very presence, the awful and informing presence, of inspired men, it was as yet the less necessary. Subsequent writers point to the test, mentioned above by the writer in the *British Critic*, the agreement of the whole Church in her message. St. Irenæus, the very Father who dwells most earnestly on this, explains to us also the source and centre of this agreement: “Ad (Romanam) Ecclesiam, propter potiorem principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est omnes qui undique sunt fideles; *in quâ* semper, ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio.” And St. Cyprian at length enounces the pregnant principle, “The Chair of Peter, the chief Church, whence the unity of the priesthood took its rise the Romans, to whom *unbelief can have no access.*” I will not here proceed further with these quotations, as I shall have to recur to the subject.

We have seen, then, that the Gospel message, from the very first, was, in one word, to hear the voice of the living Church; that the Christian, as such, was of necessity a member of an organised Society, governed by those very men to whose *teaching* also he was bound implicitly to bow, and receiving also (I may add), under their direction, the sacraments of salvation. We have seen also the most absolutely unanswerable and irrefragable proofs, that this was no temporary constitution, to end with their lives, but permanent. To be a Christian, then, in the strict sense of the term, is to be a member of such a Society, and nothing else. In the time of St. Irenæus (as we have seen) there was one, and one only, such Society. In the time of Constantine there was one, and one only, such Society. In the time of St. Gregory, there was one, and one only, such Society. In the middle ages, at the epoch of the Reformation, in the nineteenth century, there has been one, and one only, such Society. To be strictly a Christian, then, is to be a member of that Society. Every detail in the account drawn up, a few pages back, of the Apostolic Church, fits in with the Catholic Church of the present day; and yet is the mere recital of the broadest Scriptural facts. I would beg you, sir, to read it over again, and see whether you can doubt this statement.

I have heard it replied, indeed, that there are two such societies; for that (what we regard as) the schismatical Greek Church is such another. But a moment's reflection dissipates this fancy. Ask a Catholic why he believes any doctrine, he will tell you, because the Church teaches it; and the Church in communion with Rome cannot err. He regards his Church, then, as a divinely sent and infallible messenger. Ask any Russian why he believes any doctrine, will he say, because the Church in communion with the See of Moscow cannot err? or the Church in communion with some patriarch he will name, or some specified body of bishops, or the majority of them? No such thing is even alleged. He must give you, as his own *opinion*, that his Church was right in her quarrel with Rome several centuries back; but he will not say that she had any divine *promise* of being right. His faith in every doctrine he holds, is theoretically grounded on his own personal inquiry and recognition of its agreement with Apostolic tradition; and since this, of course, with the mass of men, is a *mere* theory, he is brought into no contact whatever with *any* authority, which he regards as divinely commissioned to teach truly; and holds his belief therefore, of necessity, as a mere matter of routine, which he has learned in the nursery, and has never thought of questioning. Observe, I am not here entering into any criticism of this state of mind on ethical and spiritual grounds; but merely wishing to enforce on your reason and imagination the plain truth, that there *is* no society of the present day, which has even the *prima facie* appearance of rivalry with the Catholic, in its claim to the gift of infallible teaching, and so of being successor to the Apostolic Church.

Your own Church, of course, has still less pretensions (if less were possible) to be such a rival. You not only make no such claim, but strongly disavow it, as an overbearing usurpation in any society which makes it. Let me now, then, endeavour to express in words the theory of your Church, as held by your party; though I am conscious there must be an appearance of harshness, and even satire, in doing so, which is most alien from my feelings, but which seems the necessary result of the grotesque baselessness and unmeaningness of that theory.

You consider that, under certain circumstances, the Catholic

Church may "be divided." What those circumstances are, and how an individual is to know whether they have occurred, I never was able to understand; but let that pass. I will here also let pass another question, because I spoke of it some pages back; viz. who, by divine right, are *governors* of any one of these separated parts? Well, this part, or "branch," however governed, is bound, indeed, as the charter of her Catholicity, *theoretically* to maintain, as terms of communion, the doctrines defined by the Church universal before her "division." Yet it is not bound *practically* to enforce these as terms of communion; for no one will say that your Church practically enforces them, and yet you maintain her to be a living "branch." In regard to matters on which formal decrees were not made before the "division,"—the governing body of each "branch" is at liberty to draw out for itself, from Scripture and tradition, such views as it shall think fit, and embody them in formularies; to require an "ex animo" assent to these formularies from all who are at liberty to teach; and require all members of the Church, under pain of excommunication, to refrain from *expressed* and *public* contradiction to them. Nor may any member leave the communion of such "branch," without incurring the sentence of eternal condemnation.*

Now, I really think nothing more would be necessary, in order to expel such a theory as this at once and for ever out of the domain of grave discussion, beyond the attempt, for one day, seriously to act upon it. You cannot, of course, maintain that there is the slightest security, or even *probability*, for the soundness of a doctrine, accruing from the mere fact that a body of bishops sanctions it. There has been hardly one of the many fearful heresies which have distracted the Church, but has been headed by "a body of bishops;" so much so, that one heretical sect were called "Acephali," from the strange circumstance that it had no bishops over it: a fact, indeed, which proves, I suppose, that no *one* other, among contemporary heresies, wild

* "The Church," meaning, as the context shews, the local Church, "in points where the Catholic faith is not compromised, . . . may adopt the opinion she judges more probable, demand acquiescence from her ministers, and *suppress all open maintenance of the contrary opinion.*"—Palmer on the Church, vol. ii. p. 266. Less than this, indeed, would not in any way fulfil the idea of the Church *teaching*.

and detestable as they were, was in the same position. Nay, your own bishops, as we have already seen, in the early post-Reformation period, were almost to a man Calvinistical. And the largest body of bishops in Christendom (our own) is regarded by your party, in general, as sanctioning and fostering the grossest errors and superstitions; nay, enforcing some of them as terms of Christian communion. No mere layman surely could be guilty of a more frightful aberration from Christian orthodoxy, than such a phenomenon would present.

Your governing body, then, is at perfect liberty to decree, *e. g.* that the Holy Eucharist is a mere sign or symbol; that fasting, and other austerities, are in their own nature, sinful; that sin after Baptism, however grievous, is remissible immediately, and at once, by the mere confident belief of forgiveness, and in no other possible way; that Secret Confession is a deadly superstition; that attention to rites and ceremonies is Jewish formalism; that the presence of the Holy Ghost in Christians is a fiction; that to labour in good works from hope of future reward, is a habit which, unrepented of, is inconsistent with salvation; and a variety of similar notions. No one of these, I believe, is directly, and in terms, contradictory to any thing formally decreed by the "undivided" Church; and no one but has been maintained by persons of repute in your own Establishment. These opinions, then, may be expressed in the clearest and most precise terms, and elevated into "Articles of religion." And you consider that, if ever this should happen, and no one were allowed within your Church to preach, or express any public religious opinion, except in direct accordance with these formularies; that any attempt either to leave your communion, or enlighten the members of it on these most awful matters, would be a grievous sin against God.

And while such would be the teaching to which members of *your* Church are bound by the divine law to listen, members of *our* Church would still be bound by the same law to learn doctrines directly the contrary; we should be bound to listen to no other voice, except that which denounces, as damnable heresies, these very propositions. And this is the divinely given constitution of that Church, which is to be "the pillar and ground of the truth."

You cannot be more sensible than myself, sir, of the intense unreality of this discussion. It is intensely unreal, because the theory which I am assailing is intensely unreal. Turning, then, from this mere agglomeration of notions, which no one ever seriously thought of acting on, let me consider the working of your practical system. Under your practical system, instead of precise formularies, you have articles so peculiarly drawn up, that men of almost every variety of opinion have found themselves able to subscribe. As to the lay members of your Church, since the strong arm of the State has been withdrawn, the fullest and most unbridled latitude of religious discussion has been allowed. Nor, again, has there been any extensive feeling, within your Church, of any more serious sin existing in the fact of religious dissent, than a certain disturbance of general order and conservatism. What has been the effect of *this* system?

Now, here we are brought back to the very point from which I parted several pages back, as to the blessings originally held out by the Gospel; for, so far as religious teaching is concerned, your practical system has been simply the undoing of what Christianity did, the parcelling out again of moral and spiritual truth into mere scraps and fragments. I am far, indeed, from denying, what it is indeed so honourable to the Catholic Church distinctly to affirm, that owing to her heaven-inspired working for so many centuries, the fabric of moral and spiritual truth has been unspeakably enriched; and its "parcels" accordingly are unspeakably more precious than under heathenism. The doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation have been put into shape for you, and so preserved in some sense from danger of corruption, by the Catholic Church. Many traditionary ideas as to the inward life, and, again, as to Christian morality, have passed over in a certain sense into the Protestant bodies. The Holy Scriptures, again, are an inestimable blessing to multitudes, even through the disfigurement of an heretical translation, and with the disadvantage of a mutilated canon. I might say much more of the same kind, were it for my purpose to continue. But if you maintain (as is sometimes done among you) that it is to *your* Church, and not to ours, that you are indebted for these blessings, let me ask you to imagine that your Church were plainly

and undisguisedly (what, of course, I believe it to be really,) a mere creature and function of the State. Imagine that "consecrations" and "ordinations" were no more among you; that convocations had never sat, and that the sovereign in his own person took the lead in public religious celebrations. I ask, in what single particular would your *teaching* suffer? The sovereign might have commissioned skilled men to draw up your articles; he might have taken measures for the continued and (as you would call it) correct printing of your Bibles; he might have placed in every parish officials, devoted exclusively to that purpose, who should read prayers and preach under his authority; and might have warned them (according to the oft-quoted act of Elizabeth) to consider in their preaching nothing to be heresy, except what had been so determined by the Early Councils and Fathers of the Church. What single benefit have you from your Church's teaching now, which you would not equally have enjoyed under this supposition? I have been speaking all through, observe, of the Church's office in the way of *teaching*. I know, of course, that you would have had no *Sacraments* then, and that you think you have them now; but that is another matter.

I say, then, that in the matter of teaching, your condition is altogether analogous to that of heathens before the Gospel was given. As with them, so with you, energies which might have led to an indefinite amount of admirable exertion, if set forward at once on right principles, are dissipated and exhausted in the preliminary effort of *discovering* right principles. Nay, I may repeat, in application to you, almost the very words I used in describing the heathen; nor will I dissemble, indeed, that I had Protestants in my mind when I was writing them. There is no authoritative standard among you, of religion or morality: insomuch that if any wishes to live on higher than worldly motives, no assemblage of doctrines and principles offers itself, purporting to be *the* one truth; no distinct authoritative voice is heard, but only the clamorous vociferations, whether of the people at large, or of conflicting religious sects. One man accordingly, who really wishes to do right, takes mere popular opinion as his standard; another follows this or that sect; a third looks doubtfully about from one to the other; and loses, in

debating, precious time, which should be employed in *acting* and *meriting*; great numbers, again, even of those who may conceive momentary aspirations for what is higher and nobler, are driven back to the mire of merely selfish objects and interests, by the apparent impossibility of attaining any certain knowledge of Divine truth. To vast multitudes, again, it never even occurs to seek for aught higher and nobler than they find ready at hand; and any attempt, on the part of those who really are earnest for promoting God's glory, to combine in the great work of evangelising these masses, is rendered hopeless, by the incurable divergences among the former, and their mutual conflicts; for no men can combine to gain souls to the Gospel, till they have agreed with each other what the Gospel is. And as regards their own spiritual advancement, much as there often is to admire and love, it is hardly to be found unmixed with other elements, which we must lament and condemn; the absence of all witness to that one religious system, which is the correlative to human nature in its entirety, causes a dwarfishness, unshapeliness, distortedness of moral growth, most painful to contemplate.

You may consider this last, indeed, to be mere matter of opinion; and it is impossible, within moderate compass, to discuss the question. But consider, what is more obvious and undeniable, and to which I have already alluded—the effect produced on humble minds by the state of things among you. One party bases their doctrine on Scripture alone; another on Scripture and the Fathers; a third on reason: but all three agree practically in this, that the formation of a system is left to each man's private judgment. The mass of men are immersed, of necessity, in worldly cares; and they are bid, in their leisure hours, to test the rival theological claimants, by a careful examination of Scripture, or by a laborious perusal of Church history, or by a philosophical examination into the principles of the human mind. The proud hard intellectualist rejoices in this: but miserable tidings is it for those, who look to religion as to their stay and comfort; who wish to believe and act, not to argue and inquire; whose very need is, firm and undoubting faith in supernatural Objects. It was this very need, which the Church of the Apostles so abundantly and superabundantly satisfied; this which the

Church of St. Cyprian, or St. Athanasius, or St. Leo, no less fully supplied; this, under which the humblest Catholic of the present day, starving in the poorest hut through all Ireland, has never suffered. And this is my answer to those, who speak as though the very perception of such a need implied some morbid peculiarity of sentiment. Such a notion I regard, indeed, as intellectually unspeakably shallow, and as morally unspeakably cruel; and what these objectors almost deride as a "morbid peculiarity," I unhesitatingly designate the proof of a really spiritual and supernaturally enlightened mind. But apart from psychological discussions, I point to the broad fact, more than once mentioned; I point to the fact, that it was this very craving, which received the amplest recognition and satisfaction in the original promulgation of the Gospel. God's inspired messengers understood human nature better, than do speculative theorists of the nineteenth century.

In a word, then, a Church not infallible, if it really attempts to teach, becomes a literally intolerable tyranny and nuisance; if it do *not* attempt to teach, the relapse into this state of quasi heathenism, at once, and as of course, ensues.

It is sometimes attempted to defend the imposition of an authority, yet not an infallible one, by the example of the parental relation. But this example, if weighed for a moment, tells distinctly on our side. Parental teaching is received, no doubt, with the most docile and unquestioning submission; but by whom? By *children*. Precisely in proportion as their conscience and their intellect expand into distinctness and individuality, the wise parent aims at transferring their *ultimate* allegiance, from himself to some higher authority. To do otherwise, to aim at impressing even on the youth of fourteen or fifteen, his own "*ipse dixit*" as the unquestioned voice of truth, would be regarded by the common consent of mankind as the mere frantic ebullition of unscrupulous tyranny. In like manner, as a plain matter of fact, even the doctrine of the Creeds, which (as far as mere writing and printing are concerned) are no doubt most distinctly enunciated by your Church, are yet never received ultimately on her authority; but the appeal is made to the historical proof, whether directly of their proceeding from the Apostles, or,

again, of the infallible authority of the Church at the time they were decreed.

Now observe the consequences of this historical appeal. No one professes that either of these two propositions, the Apostolicity of the Creeds, or the infallibility of the Nicene Church, is *certainly* true, in such sense, that men of the deepest learning have not sincerely and confidently denied both. The consequence is, that all, except those very few who have leisure and means for historical studies, accept these two propositions, on faith in a certain small number of individuals, whom (on intellectual or moral grounds) they regard as peculiarly fitted to judge. So that, even if things rested there, their faith, in its ultimate analysis, would rest on their having rightly judged the qualifications of these men. But in many cases it cannot rest there. These trusted authorities commit themselves to other opinions, which shake their disciples' faith in them; or display some marked intellectual defect, which has a similar result. Then begins the making an allowance for their various idiosyncracies, in estimating their authority; and it is perceived (most truly) that we "should call no man master:" on the other hand, the inability to pursue *personal* researches into Ecclesiastical history still remains; so that in several cases it is really most difficult to determine, what single doctrine, even of the most sacred, is regarded by your friends as an unquestionable part of the Apostolic "depositum." Jeremy Taylor, we have already seen, does not even regard the Nicene definition as such.

The case is, I think, not better but worse, in those who *are* able to study history. To ground one's faith on the word of a revered individual, carries with it, at least, a semblance of true principle; but to ground it on a long, complicated, and anxious intellectual process, on the results of which many most learned and laborious men, yes, and as *impartial* as *ourselves*, have confessedly held an opinion the very contradictory of our own, seems as contrary to the very idea of faith built on a *rock* as can well be conceived.

Another remark is in point. I pointed out, some way back, the plain fact, that those who were drawn to the Apostolic Church by some one particular doctrine or other note, placed

themselves under the obligation of accepting, without doubt, an indefinite number of other doctrines, they could not tell beforehand *what*, and which might be at first altogether shocking to their expectations and repulsive to their moral tastes. This is true to the letter, in the case of submitting to the Catholic Church; as all of us, who have undergone that happy process, can testify. We felt, that at once the principle of *faith* was called into action, as it had never been before; that a curb was placed on our speculation, a check on the free course of our reasonings, by the peremptory obligation of bowing before a living authority. Fruits unspeakably precious were to be reaped, indeed, through our docility. According to St. Augustine's well-known maxim, "fides præcedit intellectum," those very doctrines which, on first hearing, were perhaps the farthest from "arriding" to us,—when accepted (as we were bound to accept them) in the spirit of faith, and so appropriated and brought into practical action,—disclosed to us their real and heavenly nature; and put us in possession (it may be) of a whole region of spiritual truth, which would otherwise have been closed against us.

But with you there seems little, or rather no, exercise for this principle. You profess, indeed, to submit yourselves to the voice of the early Church, and to accept the creeds on her authority. But other principles, to the full as distinctly and harmoniously witnessed by the early Church, you make little account of. Thus, the superiority of celibacy to marriage is, I suppose, (to say the least,) not less obviously, uniformly, and distinctly, mentioned by the early Fathers, than is the doctrine defined against Arius; and yet it is considered (I believe) quite an open question among you: nay, I suspect no single member of your party ever adopted it *merely* on authority, that is, before his own moral instincts led him to perceive its truth. In like manner, the divine and indispensable command of the Church's unity of organization, and her infallibility, are written on the very surface of early history; yet they are absolutely rejected by your party: rejected too, confidently, and without the shadow of a doubt, by those who (to use a common phrase) "have no misgivings as to their position."

You may perhaps say, that at last the mass of men are con-

tent to accept what is placed before them, and do not thus restlessly press things to their ultimate point. I not only admit this, but consider that it makes my case stronger. If you allow that spiritual and moral truth gives to such men the means, (and the means whose absence nothing else can possibly supply,) for being unspeakably strengthened, elevated, and supernaturalised in character, you will admit it to be among the greatest of calamities, that there shall be no security for such truth being placed before them. This (as I have more than once said) is, in fact, that very calamity, from which Christianity, at its first promulgation, saved them, and into which Protestantism of every shape thrusts them back. With us, as with the early Christians, one doctrine, and one only, is placed, on the one hand in authority (as it were) over the intellectually active, and demands their submission; and is supplied pure and unadulterated, on the other hand, to the intellectually feeble, who are only too ready to believe. “*True guidance, in return for loving obedience, did he but know it, is the prime want of man.*”* This “prime want” has been supplied, in every age of the Christian era, by the Catholic Church; and in no age has it been supplied by aught besides.

Then, again, as to the *evidence* on which men are called on to receive doctrine. Once admit that our doctrine is *true*, you will hardly deny that it has very readily the means of being *evidenced*; I mean, that if the Church Catholic be really directed by so special and unwearying a supernatural guidance as we maintain, it would almost follow, as a matter of course, that she bears on her forehead the marks of her divinity. And so, I earnestly maintain, the case really is. Now, as in St. Augustine’s day who dwells so repeatedly on the fact, the Church is a city set upon a hill; with the notes of her divine commission so distinctly impressed on her whole aspect, that rich and poor, learned and simple, alike may read them, so only they have some real sense of their own ignorance and sinfulness, and of the need in which they are of supernatural truth and holiness. Of these notes, some will be more significant to one class of persons, and some to another; but, taken collectively, they are addressed to collective man. All could discern them whose moral dispositions

* Carlyle.

are, as just now supposed, as they come from under the shadow of their early discipline and associations, except for those prejudices, which possess, to the full as frequently, the learned and intellectual as the rude and ignorant; yes, and which exist in forms different, indeed, but to the full as dense and darkening, in the one and in the other. So abundant, and superabundant, and overwhelming, is the evidence (as we maintain) which points out to men their duty of submitting to the Voice of the Church. While, for those who have lived from infancy in her bosom, the proof of her authority is of a still more intimate and persuasive character; by how much her true character, her doctrines, her lessons, her means of grace, are more deeply and accurately discerned, by those who have had practical experience of them, than by those who are able only to view her from without.

You will not, of course, admit this; but I cannot doubt that you will *hypothetically* admit it. Were a son blessed with an infallible father, he could not live long under his guidance without obtaining the deepest conviction of such a fact. We therefore consistently claim for the Catholic Church, what you *cannot* consistently claim for your own; for your people are brought into no direct contact with any authority, which *claims* to be the very Voice of God. For the fundamental Christian doctrines themselves, those contained in the Creeds, your educated members have such external sanction as they are able to derive for themselves from history; your uneducated members have no external sanction at all.

VII. I have been endeavouring, then, to shew, how intimately and indissolubly the notion of infallibility is bound up in the notion of the Christian Church; of the Church, as founded by the Apostles, and destined by their Master to last until His second coming. I have pointed out that the "depositum" of faith, which it has ever been the Church's special office to guard, is not separable even in idea from the living voice of an infallible Church. I have urged the unmeaningness and infinite self-contradictoriness, of the very notion of a Church claiming authority, which does not claim infallibility. I have also shewn, that in your practical system there is literally no Church authority at all; no authority in teaching, except such as the State could fully as well supply:

and that, as the inevitable consequence of this fact, all security and all evidence for true doctrine has disappeared, and the principles of heathenism have so far supplanted the principles of the Gospel. This, then, will be the fittest place for noticing a view, brought forward in your number for Oct. 9, some time since I began writing this letter; a view, I confess, which coming from the quarter it does, has taken me by surprise: though it has been always indeed common enough, among those who professedly impugn the doctrine of the Visible Church. Speaking broadly (I will presently enter into details), you consider it a sufficient answer to all I have been urging, that the Church, in preserving the Faith, has been careless in preserving holiness. I had observed, "that the prevalence of *immorality* within the Church, is a totally and incomparably different phenomenon from the prevalence of heresy within her, in its bearing on the notes of her divinity." You express surprise that I should have "expected you" to "admit this statement;" but you omit to specify the reason *why* I expected this. "You have not to learn this," I proceeded, "for you profess yourself a disciple of the early Church; and you will not doubt that in the early Church" this principle prevailed. Now it is very remarkable, that you have *not attempted to deny this latter statement*. On the testimony of the early Church, you have let judgment go by default;—the voice of the Church of "the last twelve hundred years, to speak very much within the mark," you even clamorously maintain is directly against you;—your appeal is to "the spirit of Scripture," and "the natural conclusions of a reason informed by Scripture." Before adverting further, however, to your article, let me proceed in drawing corollaries, from the principles laid down in the last section, in regard to the various senses, in which the Catholic Church of every age and place is, as we maintain, essentially *holy*.

1. In the first place, the faith which she preserves is necessary as the foundation for holiness. Faith may exist without love; but love cannot exist without faith. We most earnestly and confidently maintain, that in no Protestant body can exemplars of holiness be found, the same even in *kind* with those super-human exhibitions of heroic virtue and Divine love, which are

put before us in the lives of our Saints: and that for the plain reason, among others, (to which I have already more than once adverted), that the pure and genuine doctrines of the Gospel give quite a special and singular support, (a support for the absence of which no other thing can possibly compensate,) for attaining a lofty and well-proportioned spiritual stature. Nay, we do not admit real holiness to exist *at all* out of the Visible Church, except where portions of her faith are held,—on the one hand in invincible ignorance of the rest, and, on the other hand, in a true *spirit* of faith. I know, of course, that you dissent from all this; but it is not, therefore, the less to my purpose, in order that I may shew, how far the Catholic Church is from admitting any such opposition between orthodoxy and holiness, as that which you lay to her charge.

2. Again, as I have before said, sanctity requires not only a true faith, but the implanting of a supernatural principle. This the Church effects by her Sacraments; nor can any one profess, that in any single period of her existence she has been remiss, or otherwise than most sedulous, in their administration. It is part, also, of the “*depositum*” which she preserves, that she faithfully transmits, from generation to generation, a knowledge of the forms required by Christ for their administration. How many infants’ souls have been lost in your Establishment, from the mere carelessness about Baptism which has been allowed to spring up among you! How many, from the ignorance of such numbers of your clergy as to the essential requisites for its validity!

3. It is a plain matter of fact (as I said before), that God has not given to all Christians, whether in the Apostolic or in any subsequent period, such efficacious grace as shall purify their will, and make them holy. As far as we see, it would have been a great blessing had He done so; but He has not. So that one cannot say, that in any age the Church has been in such sense holy, as that all who have received her faith, and had access to her Sacraments, have duly profited by them. But in *this* sense she is holy, that she has in every age used her endeavours, to stem the ever-flowing flood of evil, and guide securely heavenwards those whose hearts lead them to desire it. In very early ages she did this; as in many other ways, so also by severe rules

of fasting and abstinence for all; and by a severe course of penance, as the condition of restoration to those who had fallen into grievous sin. In modern times, she has altogether abrogated the latter, and very greatly modified the former. Her weapons have been of a different kind, but surely not less efficacious. She has most earnestly recommended frequent Confession and Communion, and commanded it at least once a year. She has devised a powerful machinery for drawing the many towards God: such as, on the one hand, her public missions; her constant preachings; her confraternities; the indulgences, by which she draws her children to various most beautiful devotions; the chain of holy observances, with which, as with a sort of routine, she binds round the whole of daily life, that in the occupation of earth they may not forget Heaven; and again, the lives of Saints, which she has provided in such variety and profusion for the edification of the people, and which are so unspeakably impressive on the imagination of uneducated men, and so singularly imbue their mind with true Christian principle: on the other hand, her holy images and pictures, and especially the constant presence of the Crucifix; the attraction of religious music and ceremonial; the sweet devotion to our dearest Lady, which seizes, as by a sort of spell, on the hearts and imaginations of the most careless, ever soliciting them to higher and purer aspirations, and drawing many (almost in spite of themselves) to the thought and worship of her Son. But in no other way has the Church so powerfully and extensively influenced the many, as in that other part of her office, the careful training of the few. To those who are called to an interior and spiritual life, she offers a choice among an indefinite number of religious orders and congregations, according to each man's special character, and the special dealings of God with his soul; or if they be called rather to remain in the world, she offers them, *in* the world, full guidance towards perfection. She has mapped out, as it were, our spiritual nature; and educates a special class of men in the great work of guiding souls, not on any mere random hap-hazard maxims, but on stable and scientific principles; principles, to the formation of which all her past experience has been brought to bear. For those who are destined to the priesthood, and so to a life of celibacy,

she has provided seminaries, in which (to pass over all else) no one thing is made the object of so special and singular care, as the preserving their imaginations pure and unsullied. For those who wish to retire for a brief space from the heat and dust of the world, to refresh and invigorate their communion with God, or to decide on their future vocation, or even to consult God's will on some minor matter of duty, she has provided an elaborate and profound system, carried out by priests specially educated for that very purpose, and familiarised with its practical working. From persons so trained to the priesthood, or to the interior life, there radiates, as it were, an atmosphere of holiness through the Church, drawing many to follow the same example, and many more at least to admire it, though they follow it not.

Such is a most inadequate and (as one may say) *prosaic* account, of the various means of holiness held forth by the Church. They are, of course, put forth with more activity in one age than in another; but no one will say—there is not even the shadow of a ground for saying—that the later ages, as a whole, have been less zealous in this matter than the earlier, as a whole.

4. The Church is holy, as inwardly, so outwardly also; that is, she exhibits to those who are strangers to her inward life, some impression as to the real nature of that life, by its external reflection, and by giving them a perception of the fruits produced. This also, in the very early ages was, to a great extent, effected by means of the exclusion, from various Christian privileges, of those who committed grievous sin; so that that circle of believers, who were in the full enjoyment of Church privileges, were, in some sense, a chosen body, fitted to stand forth as the pattern and exemplar of Christian sanctity. In later times, she has altogether abandoned this discipline; and exercises her inalienable office of proclaiming outwardly to the world the sanctity which is enshrined within herself, by various other methods. The first of these, of course, is the very presence of those who are really saints; only from the nature of the case, there are but few who can enjoy the privilege of this presence. The publicity given to the whole process of canonisation, and the lives of Saints founded on that process, and circulated through the Christian world; and again, the memory of particular Saints ever freshly

preserved in particular places, and diffusing, as it were, still the fragrance of their graces; all this has a powerful effect in the same direction. Then, again, what the select body of Christians was in very early ages, as a pattern and exemplar of holiness, different religious orders, or bodies of secular priests, have been in later times; for no one can say that, in regard to *them*, discipline has become obsolete. In England at present, for example, the very presence of a missionary priest, in his district, is a constant memento of unwearied laboriousness, and crucifixion of the flesh.

In regard to the first two of these four great classes of facts, there is, of course, no controversy between us. That, in regard to the last two, you should consider the ancient discipline more suitable to present circumstances than the modern, were it merely on both sides a matter of opinion, would to me be a surprising conclusion. That you confidently maintain this opinion, in admitted contradiction to the Church of twelve centuries at least,—without so much as alleging support either from the Church, or from any one holy man, belonging to any period since the Apostles;—and founding your view merely on your own idea of “the spirit of Scripture,” and on “the natural conclusions of a reason,” which you confidently believe, it seems, is “informed by Scripture;”—this is as strong an instance surely of private judgment, exercised in its most objectionable sense, as Germany or America could produce. But, that you go even further, and not only confidently hold the ancient discipline better for these times than the modern, but pronounce the Church to have all but apostatised in consequence of making the change; this is really an allegation which it is difficult gravely to meet. Its eccentricity almost diverts one’s attention from its immeasurable audacity.

Although you do not deny that the Early Church is directly opposed to you, it may be as well to draw attention to some portion of the evidence, brought forward by our controversialists, to prove, in opposition to one or two Protestant sects, that evil men have ever abounded in the Church. Both yourself, sir, and the Protestant sects referred to, had been anticipated in their objection to the Church, by the Donatists of St. Augustine’s period,

to mention no other. And we find in St. Augustine's *Breviculus Collationis cum Donatistis*, referred to by Bellarmine, in the proceedings of the third day, that the whole body of the Catholic bishops urge this very thing, as one of their cardinal points against the heretics. Thus St. Augustine tells us (Third day, s. 16), that the Catholics "proved by many testimonies and examples of the sacred Scriptures, that wicked men are now so mixed up in the Church, that (although ecclesiastical discipline ought to be vigilant, in order to the chastising them, not with words only but with excommunications and degradations, yet) evil men not only, being secretly such, escape knowledge; but *generally, when known, are endured for the sake of the peace of unity* (plerumque, propter pacem unitatis, etiam cogniti tolerantur): shewing that *the divine testimonies are thus brought into agreement*, [by considering] that those passages, in which the Church was commemorated as being with the mixture of evil men, signified" this present life; "and those passages, in which it is commemorated as not having evil men mixed with it," refer to the life to come. To the same effect is the following passage of St. Augustine; in which I beg you to observe, not only St. Augustine's own *doctrine*, but the plain *facts* to which he bears witness, as to the state of the Church in his day. St. Augustine's interpretation of Scripture, you will see, sir, is also in point-blank contradiction to your own; though I know not whether you will admit him to have caught its "spirit," and his "reason" to have been duly "informed by it."

"Let them cease, then, to put forth such things, if they wish to answer this Epistle. For neither do we say, that the Church is in such wise spread throughout the world, that the good alone are in her sacraments, and not also the bad; and [the last], indeed, *in greater number*; so that the former are in comparison with them few, though *by themselves* they constitute a vast number.

"We have innumerable testimonies both of the admixture of the wicked with the good in the same participation of a sacrament, as wicked Judas, from the beginning, mixed familiarly with eleven good men; and of the fewness of the good, in comparison with the greater number of the bad; and again, of the multitude of good considered absolutely. From which testimonies, not to be tedious, I make mention of a few.

“ There is, in the Canticles, that which every Christian recognises to be said of Holy Church. ‘ As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters’ (Cant. ii. 2). Whence calls he them thorns, unless by reason of their depravity of morals? And whence the same also daughters, unless by reason of the participation of sacraments? Ezechiel also sees certain ones marked here, that they should not perish in like manner with the wicked; of whom it is said to him, ‘ That sigh and mourn for all the abominations of *my people* that are committed in the midst thereof’ (Ezech. ix. 4). He would not call them *His people*, whom He soon after bids perish, the good only being unhurt, except He meant that people which had with them His sacraments. And the Lord says of the cockle which had been oversowed, ‘ *Suffer both to grow until the harvest*’ (St. Matt. xiii. 30); that is, the wheat and the cockle. And He Himself also interprets the harvest to be the end of the world, and the field, indeed, where both were sown, to be the world. It behoves, therefore, both to grow throughout the world, even to the end of the world. For which reason those persons are not allowed to suspect, or to assert, what they say; *i. e.* that all good men have failed out of the world, so as to remain only in the party of Donatus. For they struggle against the most plain sentence of the Lord, saying, ‘ The field is the world;’ and ‘ Suffer both to grow until the harvest;’ and ‘ The harvest is the end of the world.’ There is another most plain comparison of the mixture of the bad and the good, within the same participation and binding together of sacraments, which the Lord Himself lays down and expounds. He says, ‘ The kingdom of heaven is like to a net cast into the sea, and gathering together all kind of fishes; which, when it was filled, they drew out, and sitting by the shore, they chose out the good into vessels, but the bad they cast forth. So shall it be at the end of the world. The angels shall go out, and shall separate the wicked from among the just, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth’ (St. Matt. xiii. 47). No admixture of the wicked, therefore, terrifies the good, that they should, by reason thereof, wish, as it were, to break the nets, and go forth from the congregation of unity, lest they should suffer men, who do not belong to the kingdom of heaven, to remain in the participation of sacraments; since, when they arrive at the shore, that is, at the end of the world, due separation will be made, not by human rashness, but by the Divine judgment.”*

* *Aug. de Unitate Ecclesiæ*, c. 34, 35.

And in another passage, he draws the very distinction between immorality and heresy, on which I insisted; *evil men*, he says, who *believe*, are *real parts* of the Church, but by *heresy or unbelief fall from it* altogether. “*Then*,” he says, “any one is *unfruitful*, and [nevertheless] not as yet cut off from the rest, when with evil desire he does” evil “works; but when, for the sake of those very works, he shall have begun [in his mind] to oppose (*resistere*) that most evident truth whereby he is reformed, then he is cut off.” And he adds that many such, their heresy not being known, “are still in communion of Sacraments with the Church, and yet even now *are not in the Church.*” *

I might most easily multiply examples from St. Augustine; but none can be plainer than those I have adduced: nor do I doubt, if my knowledge of the Fathers’ works were extensive, I could bring forward an indefinite number from others. A writer in the *Dublin Review*, refers to the invectives of St. Chrysostom in the East, and Salvian in the West, as shewing how corrupt was *their* contemporary Church. Klee, again, in his work on the Church, adduces the following, which draw the very same distinction between faith and holiness. These, also, I would have you to regard, not merely in the light of personal expression of doctrine, but as testimonies to contemporary facts.

Origen: “For *at what time*, in what is named the Church . . . the pillar and ground of the truth, *are there not* money-changers sitting down, who need stripes of the whip made by Jesus?” “*Now the . . . vessels of wrath dwell with the vessels of mercy*, and the chaff is with the wheat, and in oneness are the selected and the rejected fishes; *but the Lord brings His treasure to light at the time of the judgment.*” “In the Church, *though all are contained within one faith . . . yet all make not the same advancement . . . The multitude of irrational animals or beasts [the allusion is to Noah’s ark, so frequent a type of the Church with the Fathers] is stationed in the inferior places, and those especially whose wild savageness the sweetness of faith has not been able to tame.*”

St. Pacian: “The Church of God . . . the well of living water, and the sealed fountain, *is made muddy by no filth of heretical eddying*,

* *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, c. 74.

and a closed garden full of *all herbs—vile and precious*. We know, also, that eight persons came from the ark; but *among these was Cham*; and that there were many thousands of birds . . . *clean and unclean.*”

Theodoret: “Nor does the Church of God altogether consist of the perfect; but it contains those also . . . who *have embraced a dissolute life.*”*

And I may conclude with a quotation from St. Cyprian, adduced also by Bellarmine, as shewing the state of the Christian Church in *his* days, when the purifying fire of persecution relented even for a moment.

“Every one was applying himself to the increase of wealth; and forgetting both what was the conduct of believers under the Apostles, and what ought to be their conduct in every age, they, with insatiable eagerness for gain, devoted themselves to the multiplying of possessions. The priests were wanting in religious devotedness, the ministers in entireness of faith; there was no mercy in works, no discipline in manners. Men wore their beards disfigured, and women distained their complexion with a dye. The eyes were changed from what God made them, and a lying colour was passed upon the hair. The hearts of the simple were misled by treacherous artifices, and brethren became entangled in seductive snares; *ties of marriage were formed with unbelievers*; members of Christ abandoned to the heathen. Not only rash swearing was heard, but even *false*; persons in high place were swollen with contemptuousness, poisoned reproaches fell from their mouths, and men were sundered by unabating quarrels.

“Numerous Bishops, who ought to be an encouragement and example to others, despising their sacred calling, engaged themselves in secular vocations, relinquished their chair, deserted their people, strayed among foreign provinces, hunted the markets for mercantile profits, tried to amass large sums of money, while they had brethren starving within the Church; *took possession of estates by fraudulent proceedings*, and multiplied their gains by accumulated usuries.”†

It next follows, to meet your arguments one by one. You are surprised by my “singular allegation, that the enormous

* *Klee on the Church*, Engl. transl. pp. 46, 7.

† *De Lapsis*, Oxford translation.

prevalence of murder would excite less consternation in England, than one essay written in its justification." I am as much astonished by your singular denial, as you by my singular allegation. Just now we have been hearing of an unusual number of burglarious and murderous outrages, and are more or less shocked and alarmed accordingly. But suppose an article were to appear in the *Guardian*, (if you will forgive me the grotesque supposition,) deliberately maintaining that, when persons are in great distress, it is quite an innocent action, in order to avoid the Union, to break into people's homes armed, by night, and shoot whoever should make resistance. Will you seriously contend that such a fact as this would not add, quite fearfully and immeasurably, to the present feeling of horror? As to the novel of *Eugene Aram*, God forbid I should defend it; but the author and his admirers profess loudly that it is no defence of murder, but only the exhibition of a remarkable fact in human nature, viz. how much good may coexist with how much evil. Let Sir E. Lytton prefix a preface to some new edition of it, in which he shall formally defend the murder of Clarke as an innocent act, then, and not till then, the case will be in point.

The same paragraph refers, in a note, to part of the acts of the Seventh Œcumenical Council. The reply shall also be in a note.*

* In noticing your reference to the acts of the Seventh Council, I must observe, how even startlingly the boldness of your criticism illustrates, (what I said some pages back) that in dealing with writers of your school, we never know, as the saying is, where to have you; we never know what precedents you will regard as authoritative, or in what particulars you will bow to the voice even of the primitive Church. Thus, for the strong line you take as to the almost indispensable obligation incumbent on the Church of excommunicating wicked men, you cite (as I have observed in the text) no ecclesiastical authority whatever. In like manner here. I had fancied that your writers professed the deepest reverence for the *Sixth* Œcumenical Council, which condemned the Monothelites; and St. Sophronius was one of the greatest pillars of the Church, in the contest against that heresy, which terminated in the said Council. Yet you do not hesitate to accuse him of undervaluing the sin of fornication, and you comment on "the shocking effect" of a passage which you ascribe to him.

I may here, by the way, mention (though it is quite unimportant), that the *Λειμωνναριον* is, I believe, not really by him, but by his friend Moschus, and dedicated to him.

Surely, also, your allegation proves too much. Saints of that period are accused by many moderns of undervaluing other sins, in comparison with those against the

My position, you go on to say, "is even rudely and violently opposed to the teaching of our Lord,—‘Ye shall know them by sixth (your seventh) commandment; but of *undervaluing* the latter class of sins, never.

I now come to the anecdote in question; which I maintain to be not only fully reconcilable with sound morality, but in every respect of a thoroughly good and edifying tendency.

From the manner in which you cite the story, I rather think that you look upon it as implying, that a wicked monk, plunged in every debauchery, might yet take comfort to himself from the fact, that he paid due adoration to holy images. Little explanation will suffice to shew, that nothing can be further from the truth.

In the outset of the story occurs a phrase which you have omitted: the monk was *αγωνιστης πανυ*—that is, in the habit of very severe contests against the temptations of the devil. He was not in a habit of *yielding* to the demon, and committing sin, but the very contrary; and he was quite wearied out with the unceasing recurrence of these fearful temptations, and the laboriousness of resisting them. "How long is it to be," said he one day to the "demon of fornication," "how long is it to be before thou wilt spare me? for thou hast followed me to my very old age," (*συνετηρησας μοι*). And the "demon" appeared, and promised to spare him any further attacks, if he would only omit his devotions to the holy image of the Lord and His Mother. Is it possible, you can think, in such a case, that the monk would have acted innocently in accepting this compromise? Here is a certain religious habit (you will say mistakenly, but at least *sincerely*) conceived by the monk to be the fit expression of reverent adoration to Jesus and Mary. The monk does not *change* his opinion on this matter; he still conceives it to be the fit expression of such adoration: and yet, when the deadly enemy of his Saviour, and of his Saviour's Mother, promises to give him ease on condition of abandoning this habit, he is half disposed to agree. Surely such guilt is frightful; and yet you seem to look on the monk's purpose as right and natural. Supposing the devil promised to spare *you* temptation, on condition that you would tread a copy of the Bible under your feet, or spit contemptuously upon it, would you dream of accepting so disgraceful a truce? And yet you blame the poor abbot, for expressing himself in terms of warm indignation in a similar case. Would you not say yourself, "Rather let temptation do its worst, than purchase respite from my Saviour's enemy, on the condition of insulting that Saviour?"

Observe, too, that the case is not supposed, of the monk's giving himself up unresistingly to a habit of wickedness; he had never done so before, when the temptation was at its worst: he was *αγωνιστης πανυ*. The very utmost evil, that further temptation would even *conceivably* inflict upon him, was, that from time to time he might yield to it: a fearful evil this undoubtedly, and one which, unrepented of, would damn his soul; yet surely not *so* frightful an evil as the opposite alternative. The constant habit, day after day, hour after hour, minute after minute, of refusing to pay what he fully believed the due expression of devotion to the Saviour who died for him, and that by express compact with the Saviour's great enemy, and in order to reap advantage thereby, would have been (surely you will admit) guilt hardly less than Satanical.

Nor must we imagine that the abbot *expected* any such frequent yielding to temptation, as a *probable* consequence. The very drift of the passage shews, that he is putting, for argument's sake, the extremest possible case: "Rather let the worst come to the worst, than purchase immunity by a *habit* of profaneness." The abbot,

their fruits.'” In treating on this passage, commentators reasonably draw our attention to I John iv. 12, where the Apostle also warns his children against “false prophets.” The test with which St. John supplies them, is the agreement or disagreement of professing “prophets” with the revealed doctrine; so that our blessed Saviour’s words cannot be understood as furnishing the *only* test, but *one* test. Next, observe the strange confusion of your reasoning. “A false prophet” is one who brings false doctrine; and our blessed Saviour, by implication, enforces the extreme importance of *true* doctrine, by His solemn words, “*Beware of false prophets;*” and He proceeds to give a test whereby such men may be known. He is not *contrasting* soundness of faith with holiness of practice, but the very contrary; He says that the latter is a test of the former. Now, you admit (at least, for argument’s sake), that we Catholics have maintained purity of faith; and your reasoning is, “purity of faith, by itself,” granting, pray observe, its real existence, “is no sufficient proof of a Church’s Catholicity, *because* corruption of faith is declared by our blessed Lord inevitably to result in corruption of morals.” One would have thought the very opposite conclusion to yours the true one. And truly, to the broad, straightforward sense of the words, without any evasion or explaining away, I most fully assent and submit. Every one, of course, will say, that to judge of the fruits of holiness, some certain qualifications are necessary in the critic; some spirituality of mind, and some progress in holiness. Every one also will say, that the value of a religion is tested by its effect on those who act upon it, not by those who disregard its lessons. I do, then, most unhesitatingly maintain, that whether we compare ordinary or extraordinary cases;—whe-

no doubt, fully believed, as *you*, in such a case, would believe, that the All-merciful Saviour will not let His votary suffer for an act of loyal homage to Himself, but will give him strength still to resist, as up to this time he *has* resisted.

Lastly, no true Catholic will speak of it as a *small* matter of observance, the paying due reverence to holy images. It is difficult to name any one external religious practice, which has exercised an effect in drawing souls to God, that can bear even a moment’s comparison with that of image-worship; nor was there any decision ever come to by the Church, which Satan had more reason to fear, and which he was induced by stronger motives to use his best exertions towards impeding, than the decrees of the Seventh Council.

ther we compare the lives of those Catholics who are punctual in what their Church calls their "duties," confession and communion, with the lives of any other men whatever, who are punctual in the observances which *their* religion prescribes as duties;—or whether we compare the highest patterns of sanctity in the Catholic Church, with those of any other community;—the superiority on our side is so striking and overwhelming, as to be a note of the Church, equalling in cogency any other whatever. And I think, too, there is very much truth in your sentiment, that the fruit of holiness "is practically the evidence by which, in their different forms and degrees, truth and goodness have ever prevailed over falsehood and vice."

You proceed to urge that, "the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, &c."—beautiful and solemn words, which we cannot hear too often; but what *can* you understand by them, as an argument on the present question?

Another Scripture argument of yours, is the "apostolic admonition as to excluding notorious sinners from the Christian brotherhood." You refer, of course, to such passages as the following, "I have written to you, not to keep company, if any man that is named a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or a server of idols, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one, not so much as to eat" (1 Cor. v. 11). The question, of course, is, Is this a precept binding on the Church of every age, or only of the apostolic? No one doubts that the Apostles, as they gave many precepts to be binding on all generations, so gave many also to be binding only on their own. Strange, indeed, would it have been had they not had the power of governing the Church suitably to *their* circumstances, without imposing the very same rules on their spiritual descendants for ever. Now, in most cases, we can discern, from its very nature, to which of these two classes an apostolic precept is to be referred. No one, *e. g.* regards abstinence from things strangled, and from blood, as permanently binding. In the present case, however, I do not see how we could so much as attempt a conjecture on one side or the other, except as guided by the voice and practice of the subsequent Church. As far as any conjecture

can be grounded on the words themselves, it is against you; for just before St. Paul tells them, "I wrote to you . . . not to keep company with fornicators; I mean not with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, &c. . . . otherwise, you must needs go out of this world:" but, as just quoted, "if any man that is named a brother be a fornicator," &c. Now, this rather makes on our side; for it shews, 1st. that St. Paul did not consider courteous intercourse with immoral men *in itself* a sin, because, where heathens are in question, he expressly permits it; and, 2dly. that he thought it important not "to go out of this world." From both these circumstances we should be rather inclined to augur, that when the external circumstances of the Church were absolutely reversed by the State becoming Christian, this precept would be reversed also. We Catholics, of course, know that the Church has the gift of infallibly interpreting Scripture, and that the Apostolic words, therefore, do not mean what you suppose. But I have been endeavouring to shew, that these words are not in themselves so much as a *prima facie* difficulty, even of the smallest kind, in the way of the Church's decision; for they admit the Church's sense to the full as readily as the other, or, if any thing, rather the more readily of the two. Now, the Church keeps up the practice of excommunicating, and she forbids her children to have any courteous intercourse with certain of those who *are* excommunicated; but she has extended the line very considerably beyond the point, where St. Paul found it expedient for *his* times to place it.

The other texts you quote, are such as the prophecy of Isaias, that "all" the Church's "children shall be taught of the Lord;" that Christ promises to be with her "even to the end of the world;" and that He died, that He might present to Himself "a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing." There is more than one interpretation which may be given to such passages as these; but I fearlessly assert, that of all conceivable interpretations, yours is the most unreasonable. They may imply, taken by themselves, 1st. and perhaps most naturally, that the Christian Church has a gift and promise of sinlessness in regard to her individual members; or 2dly, that she is gifted to dispense so rich a treasure of grace, that, except for

the perverseness of their own wills, Christians *would* present the appearance of a sinless society; or 3dly. they may refer, in their fulness, to the Church triumphant. Of these three interpretations, the first is at once and immediately refuted by facts; for it could not be said, that the Church which contained Ananias and Sapphira, and the Corinthian profaners of the Lord's Supper, and the Sardinian corruptions, and the Laodicean lukewarmness, was "without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing." The other two interpretations are perhaps reconcilable, and each in their place true. But what is so manifestly unreasonable, so manifestly contrary to any conceivable sense of the words, and to the whole tenour of the New Testament, is your attempt to give them a *conditional* sense. You say that the general prevalence of holiness, no less than the preservation of pure doctrine, within the Church, is a "*condition* of receiving God's blessing;" that "the gracious intentions of the Almighty have been frustrated by the perversity of man;" and that "His longsuffering has" greatly "abated from the awfulness of His threatenings." In other words, the indefectibility of the Church was not definitely promised, but was made contingent on certain conditions of holiness and orthodoxy; these conditions have been violated, and we have at present, therefore, no promise that the Church will remain; nevertheless, in His great mercy, God has seen fit hitherto to spare her existence. And this you give, as the "broad, natural, Scriptural view;" whereas, with me, the difficulty is to imagine, what single isolated text of Scripture can give even a moment's colourable sanction to so strange a notion! Certainly not the texts you have quoted or referred to.

To fix our ideas, let us take the most definite of these: "Lo, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." Now this *may* certainly mean, as far as the words go, "'Lo, I am with you,' giving you and all your disciples that efficacious grace, which shall purify your wills here, and infallibly lead you to Heaven hereafter:" but it cannot really mean this; for that would be to suppose that Christ solemnly made a promise, and did not keep it. It may also mean, and (in this instance) quite as naturally, "'I am with you all days,' to teach

you, and your disciples through you, true doctrines on matters of faith and morals; and to impart also to them such abundant graces, as shall be most fully sufficient for their salvation, so only they choose to co-operate:" and in this meaning we Catholics understand it. Protestants in general give it a less full sense; and yet I do not profess that there is any thing strange or paradoxical, in *their* interpretation either. They understand it: "Lo, I am with you all days," that is, with all true Christians, "ready to supply you abundantly with all the grace you need." The Calvinistical sense is also most readily intelligible: "Lo, I am with you all days," that is, with the elect, "to give you all My irresistible and indefectible grace, and lead you to heaven." Here are four different interpretations, yet all reasonable, and (*as* interpretations) tolerable. But what is yours? "Lo, I am with you all days,"—you yourself add one supplement,—"to inspire you with a spirit, not of truth only, but of holiness and power;" and so far, indeed, you agree with our Catholic understanding of it: but to complete your sense, it is necessary to add, "and yet, *not all days*, if at any time unholiness become prevalent among you; in that case, I do not promise that I shall not withdraw My presence from you finally and for ever." If, not a qualifying, but a directly contradictory, clause like this may be put in, what single text of Scripture is safe? On such principles, *we* might, indeed, suffer less, for we have the anchor of Church authority; but what will become of *you*, whose very ground of appeal is "the spirit of Scripture," and "a reason informed by Scripture," and "a broad and Scriptural view?" The wildest fanatic may prove his conclusion from Scripture, if allowed to handle it after your fashion.

It would be mere trifling to say more on this subject; you have made an assertion simply without a particle of proof. Make a clear statement, *what* are the conditions imposed by our Blessed Saviour as the tenure on which the Church remains in possession; give proofs of this statement from Scripture; explain how the facts of history and testimony of the Fathers accord with it. I am quite convinced you cannot do any one of these three things; but if you do, I pledge myself in that case, to meet you on your new ground. In the meantime, let

me press on your notice, over and above such Scriptural proofs of the Church's indefectibility as I gave some pages back, the testimonies for the same truth accumulated by Mr. Waterworth, from St. Ignatius Martyr, St. Irenæus, St. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, St. Hippolytus, St. Cyprian, St. Archelaus, St. Methodius, &c. &c. *Faith of Catholics*, &c. vol. i. p. 204 *et seq.*

I must not omit here, to correct a not unimportant mistake of fact into which you have fallen; though my correction may tend at first, to give you even a more unfavourable idea of our discipline, than you now entertain. You say, that among us, wicked kings "occupy a place within the Christian brotherhood," nay, even "exercise power upon and within the Church, *subject only to the necessity of finding a lenient confessor.*" Now, in fact, they are subject to no such necessity whatever. Any one, either king or subject, may go on to the end of his life without approaching either Confession or Communion, and yet without "losing his place in the Christian brotherhood." Such a man, if dying unrepentant, will be damned hereafter; but he has not been excommunicated here. The precept of confessing and communicating at least once in every year, is binding under pain of mortal sin; but its violation does not *ipso facto*, and does not indeed ordinarily, involve excommunication. And nothing is more probable than that, at various times, great influence and power have been exercised over the Church, by kings who, for years past, have been in this unceasing round of mortal sin. But on the subject of the influence of kings, enough has been said in an earlier part of this letter.

A consequence, however, of some moment follows from, or rather is logically convertible with, this proposition. I mean this; that it by no means follows from the fact of this or that king not having been publicly (or indeed privately) excommunicated, that he is actually in the habit of approaching the Sacraments. It is all very well talking about a "lenient confessor;" but considering the sort of sins wicked kings generally commit, they would have to go some way if they wished to find one for their purpose. You cannot expect me to enter into a discussion on Pascal's *Provincial Letters*; nor will I be betrayed into a strong expression of opinion on that work, without being

able to express reasons for such opinion.* But I am quite confident, that the cases are most extremely rare of such kings

* I will take this opportunity, however, to answer the sixth of your articles on "Anglo-Romanism;" which has appeared since the above was written, and which is occupied with extracts from these Provincial Letters. You bring your argument to a climax as follows: "The voice of Rome was then, if ever, needed to guide and purify the confessionals of Christendom, &c. The accuser was there; the accusation was reduced into form—clear, striking, and notorious,—the talk of the whole world. True, the Society of Jesus [from whose writers the objectionable passages are cited] was the very eye and right hand of the Roman Church; but we know that it is often 'profitable for us' that the eye should be plucked out, and the right hand cut off, rather than offences tolerated. . . . And what did Rome do" with these men? "*She contented herself with crushing their accusers.*"

It is singular you should be so entirely unacquainted with what Rome *did* do; and how forcible a panegyric on her disinterested faithfulness you have most unintentionally pronounced. She replied without any delay, by solemnly condemning every one of the opinions you specify, and banishing them at once and for ever from the schools. Alexander VII. issued one decree, dated September 7th, 1665; and a second decree, dated March 18th, 1666; and these were followed by a third decree from Innocent XI., dated March 2d, 1679. These three decrees condemn, in all, no fewer than 110 propositions; including, as I said, every one of those you specify. First I will make clear this latter fact; and then proceed to rehearse the language used by the first-named Pope, in regard to similar propositions.

The second proposition condemned by Alexander VII. is the following: "Vir equestris, ad duellum provocatus, potest illud acceptare, ne timiditatis notam incurrat." This is nearly tantamount to the position maintained in your first quotation: and I may add, that Benedict XIV., in the following century, went further, and condemned the thesis, that a person may lawfully *pretend* to accept a challenge, when he knows for certain, that in fact the duel will be prevented: a thesis far less extreme than the one you cite. See St. Alphonsus's *Moral Theology*, book iv. § 400.

The 30th condemned by Innocent XI. is, "Fas est viro honorato occidere invasorem, qui nititur calumniâ inferre, si aliter hæc ignominia vitari nequit, &c." The 17th and 18th by Alexander VII.: "Est licitum religioso vel clerico, calumniatorem, gravia crimina de se vel de suâ religione spargere minantem, occidere, quando alius modus, &c." "Licet interficere falsum accusatorem, falsos testes, ac etiam judicem a quo iniqua certo imminet sententia, &c." These, you see, cover the whole ground of your other quotations. But the 13th, 14th, and 15th condemned by Innocent XI., are far more moderate and plausible than those you quoted; and their condemnation enforces careful regulation of the *thoughts* concerning another's death. They are as follow: "Si cum debitâ moderatione facias, potes, absque peccato mortali, de vitâ alicujus tristari, et de illius morte naturali gaudere, illam inefficaci affectu petere et desiderare, *non quidem ex displicentiâ personæ*, sed ob aliquod temporale emolumentum." "Licitum est absoluto desiderio cupere mortem patris, non quidem ut malum patris, sed ut bonum cupientis; quia nimirum ei obventura est pinguis hæreditas." "Licitum est filio gaudere de parricidio a se in ebrietate perpetrato, propter ingentes divitias inde ex hæreditate consecutas."

Now let us see the Holy Father's language in regard to these and similar propositions.

"Our most holy lord [the Pope, Alexander VII.] has heard, not without great grief of mind, that many opinions, tending to relax Christian discipline, and destroy

going to communion at all, unless they have, for the time, felt a repentance, which both they themselves and their confessors believed to be sincere. We read in the lives of Louis XIV. accounts of his accesses of (apparently) sincere repentance as Easter came near, and of how long, on various occasions, his good resolutions lasted. However, let any such instances as you suppose be produced, if they can be; I really believe they *cannot*. Suffice it to say, that any king who should accept absolution under such circumstances, would commit one sacrilege in so receiving the Sacrament of Penance, another in receiving the Eucharist; that he would remain under this double sin of sacrilege until truly repentant, and *when* repentant would have to make such

the soul, in part have been revived after becoming obsolete, in part are being newly invented; and that this extreme licentiousness of wanton ingenuity (*luxuriantium ingeniorum*) is daily increasing more and more; by means of which, in things appertaining to the conscience, a mode of opinion has crept in, altogether foreign to evangelical simplicity, and the doctrine of the Holy Fathers; and which if the faithful were to follow in practice for a right rule, a vast corruption of the Christian life must burst forth. Wherefore, lest it should happen at any time that the way of salvation, which God the Supreme Truth Whose words remain for ever has pronounced to be narrow, should be made wide, or rather be perverted, to the destruction of souls, the same our most holy lord, in order that he might, according to his pastoral solicitude, call forth the sheep committed to him from such a large and wide way, through which is the road to perdition (*itur ad perditionem*) into the right path," has caused certain propositions to be examined, &c.

Each decree also ends, with the sentence of excommunication, *ipso facto*, on any one who shall defend any one of the condemned theses; and with the following address to the Faithful at large.

"Moreover [the Holy Father], in virtue of holy obedience, and under the threat of Divine judgment, strictly prohibits all Christ's faithful, of whatever condition, dignity, or station, even the very highest, from carrying out into practice the aforesaid opinions, or any one of them."

This is fully sufficient as an answer to your argument; nor do I see how you can any longer refuse to Rome the praise of disregarding human interests, where eternal truth is concerned.

From that day, the theses to which you object, have vanished for ever from our theology. Those with whom the Supreme Pontiff had to deal, being men of a widely different stamp from the proud rebellious Pascal and his associates, offered no impediment or remonstrance. "Roma locuta est, causa finita est."

I am not professing to give any account of the facts brought together in the Provincial Letters; of the real force of the objectionable propositions, when viewed in their context; or of the state of mind, under which good and pious men were led to advocate them. The due accomplishment of this task is, as far as I am aware, still a desideratum in our theological literature; and one, I think, which it is just now especially desirable that some competent writer should supply. I mention this, to avoid any misconception of my meaning; but as an answer to *your* observations, sir, I consider that the above is more than sufficient.

confession all over again; further, that the priest, conscious of the fact, if he continued, without repenting, to perform his sacred functions, would commit so frightful a number of sacrileges, that one can hardly count them; and finally, that no Catholic king ever existed, nor probably any Catholic layman of any rank high or low, who has not been fully aware that such *is* the doctrine of the Church.

Having removed then this misconception, and mentioned the broad distinction between the lying under excommunication on the one hand, and, on the other, the simply not approaching the Sacraments, I proceed to vindicate the practice of the Church on grounds of reason. And by "heresy," in this discussion, I shall designate the refusing to admit, as infallible, the authority of the Church in communion with Rome; abstracting necessarily from the question, whether such refusal be wilful, or flow from invincible ignorance, as being a question on which God only, Who reads the heart, can determine. And when I speak of vindicating the practice of the Church, I do not mean that reason alone (apart from authority,) would make it undeniably evident, that the Church's present method of dealing with orthodox sinners, is more suited to present circumstances than a severer method; though I do indeed myself *think* this, on grounds of reason, to be most abundantly evident. But I propose to shew, that the whole idea of the Church's office, as deduced above from Scripture and Church history, would be absolutely overthrown and revolutionised, by any recognised admission of heretics into religious communion; and that no such result, nor the most distant approach to such a result, follows, from the present practice of readily and freely admitting orthodox believers, even the most immoral, to a participation in every ordinance except the Sacraments themselves.

The distinction between a heretic on the one hand, and a man who has lost love, but not faith, on the other hand, is much the same, as the distinction between those who agree with us in *principle*, and those who differ. Take the case of two men, who shall both of them treat their parents with neglect and contumely; who shall refuse all compliance with their wishes on indifferent subjects; and shall refuse all provision for them in sickness, poverty,

and old age, out of their own superfluity. Suppose further, that one of these men shall defend his conduct on *principle*; shall deny that he owes any gratitude to a parent, merely for bringing him into the world; and shall refuse to believe in any dictate of the natural law, obliging him to more filial conduct; perhaps refuse to believe in any natural law at all. Suppose that the other shall abandon all attempt at self-defence; shall admit to the full how detestable his conduct is; but shall still refuse to bridle his will, or deny himself those gratifications, with which filial duties would interfere. Do you not admit at once, how much greater *sympathy* you could have with, how much greater a *hold* you could establish on, the latter than the former? It may conceivably be that, in the eye of God, the former is less guilty than the latter; that he may have received no instruction; may have never witnessed any attractive exhibition of the parental relation, and have known no parents except hard-hearted and unnatural ones. His ignorance on such a subject cannot indeed be invincible; yet may it be comparatively excusable: at all events, he is not, like the other, self-condemned and without a plea. And yet, how much more common ground should we not all feel with the latter! how much less corrupting would be his company and conversation! how much more hope of producing amendment! In fact, he offers no obstacle whatever in the way of godly reproof and admonitions; he presents, as it were, a fair mark for the preacher or practical moralist; he is within the *pale* (one would at once say) of moral society. But the other man, whenever admonition is attempted, is ready with his sophistical pleas and ingenious reasoning; and against any one but a practised disputant, might appear to carry off a clear argumentative victory: and not only so, he may exhibit in his life a certain strictness on other matters of morality, and a certain fanatical zeal for his false doctrine.

Now, the parallel to this is obvious. A Catholic may pass years upon years without going to Confession; without worshipping God, or invoking our Blessed Lady; in the lap of luxury and vice; in the habit of treating those more pious than himself with hatred, contumely, and oppression: yet, by the very terms of the hypothesis, he has continued most firmly to believe that,

unless he repent, eternal ruin will be his portion; that the love of God is the highest of virtues; that our Blessed Lady is the unwearied advocate of sinners; that asceticism and mortification have been ever the characteristics of God's greatest friends; that poverty is more blessed than wealth; that the humblest Catholics, regular at their duties, are in a far higher and more hopeful position than himself. So long as this is firmly believed, surely there is nothing to be feared, and every thing to be hoped, from seeing him begin to attend Mass, and frequent Church at other times. It is proof that he is "taking a serious turn;" and if he takes such a turn at all, he can take it in one and one only direction. His belief has ever been the very same with that of his more pious brethren; his practice is beginning to be the same also. He is seen at Mass, or at prayer before an image of our Blessed Lady; soon, it is to be hoped, the virtue of that Holy Sacrifice, and the prayers of his heavenly Mother, will gain for him the further grace of seriously setting himself to be reconciled with God; of making a good confession, and receiving the Body of his Lord and Saviour. He listens to sermons; agreeing, as he does, with the doctrine contained in them, and seeking therefore no opportunity to cavil, soon, it is to be hoped, they may rouse him sharply to exertion, or sink gently and deeply into his heart. At all events, his belief being the same with that of other Catholics, will display itself in the same external forms; and his devotions, be they more or fewer, more or less fervent, still will breathe the very same spirit, with those in whose company they are offered.

In all these particulars the case is widely different, when an *heretical* spirit seeks to intrude into the Church. An orthodox Catholic, if careless and irreligious, stays away from the dwelling of the Most Holy, or is remiss and careless in his attendance: but a rising heretical party frequent it assiduously; nay, from the zeal almost invariably displayed by heresy at its first awakening, they are even more constant in devotion and observance, than most of the orthodox themselves. Now consider how comparatively little of religious doctrine the mass of believers learn from formal *propositions*: they imbibe the faith rather, by surrendering themselves to the *spirit* which pervades the Church; by hearing the various lives or legends of canonised

Saints; by the various religious practices and demonstrations, which the Church does not so much herself appoint, as sanction and foster, when the spontaneous piety of the body of the faithful has originated them; by the very tone of religious conversation which goes through the community. It was by such means as these, that the faithful in general learned the apostolic doctrine from the Apostles themselves; and so in every age, down to the present: nor was there any purpose, for which the very organisation of the Church seems to have been more primarily destined, as I observed some way back, than this very purpose. Consider, now, what must be the necessary result of attempting to unite in the same worship and observances, those *e. g.* who simply wish to learn from the present Church, and those whose very principle it is to test her teaching by that of some past age. Of attempting to unite, in early ages, those who worshipped Christ as perfect God, with those who revered Him merely as a creature; or those who believed in His sufferings as those of perfect Man, with those who held Him not to be really such. Or, in later times, those who believed it their duty to expect *assurance* of salvation, with those who remain in anxious watchfulness to the last; who to the very end cry to Jesus and Mary, with earnest hope indeed, yet not unmixed with fear, that they may be with them at that tremendous hour. Or those with whom the supernaturalness of the Saints, and so of the inward life in general, is the very spring of their religion, with those who deny a deep and marvellous spiritual presence to be at all given under the Gospel. Or those who worship Christ in the Sacrament, with those who believe not that He is there. Or those who have imbibed the tender, loving, cheerful spirit of the Catholic theology, as expressed *e. g.* by St. Philip or St. Alphonsus, with the narrow-minded, proud, and gloomy votaries of Jansenism. Is it not plain that so monstrous an admixture, would destroy all *practical* distinctness of teaching in the Church, and make the temple of the Living God to be no longer the peaceful witness of truth, but the arena of clamorous disputants? It is seen at once, that the mere securing of orthodoxy in priests and teachers, and proclaiming the sentence of eternal condemnation against heretics as such, would be literally of no avail for the purpose here in question, unless seconded

by the vigorous exclusion of these false believers from the sanctuary on earth. And no wonder, then, that in every age the same phenomenon has been presented; that when some heresy has stealthily and gradually shewn itself within her bosom, the Church has felt, as it were, a stifling and choking oppression; that she has felt the free current of her voice to be obstructed, and the free exercise of her powers impeded; until the loathed intruder has been met and baffled in his course, and expelled ignominiously from within her.

The only two objections, which occur to me as producible against this line of reasoning, I will now consider. It may be objected, then, that carnal-minded, no less than heretically-minded, men, may introduce or give currency to a class of devotions, unfavourable to spiritual growth; and as a principal illustration of this class (though it is painful even to record such statements), mention is sometimes made of the devotion towards the Madonna, prevalent among brigands and other evil livers. Now I will not deny, that in the abstract, such a case is *conceivable*; I will not deny, that what *inevitably* would result from the ecclesiastical toleration of heretics, might, in some exceptional cases, result from a too absolute and indiscriminate toleration of evil livers; and that devotions of a less elevating character might *conceivably* be propagated: but I maintain that any such would be promptly repressed by the Church, which is endued with a very special gift of wisdom for precisely such a purpose. Nor, again, do I deny, as a matter of *fact*, that many Catholics, who lead irreligious lives, are even fervent and constant in their devotion to Mary; while, from a sense of their spiritual estrangement, they cannot bring themselves to enter directly into communion with God. I never could see the point at which Protestant controversialists aim, when they make this a matter of objection. Are there no burglars and murderers among *them*? And if brigands are to be, is it not a great blessing, that they retain at least so much impression of the invisible and supernatural, as this devotion implies? Were there reason, indeed, to suppose that they fancied themselves *safe*, while living in sin, because of such devotional practices, it would be a different case; but every Catholic knows full well, that at least the yearly confession is

quite indispensable for salvation ; and that if he die in neglect of that ordinance, or in unrepentance of such past neglect, he will be inevitably damned. Nor, again, is his devotion or love to our Blessed Lady in any way *excessive*, but the very reverse : it is *out of proportion*, indeed ; but in itself it is not more, or rather it is much less, than the affection felt for her by those who are habitually in a state of grace, and (which that involves) with the love of God predominant in their heart ; nay, it is *unspeakably* less, than that tender, glowing, ever-burning, intense flame of devotion towards that Most Blessed of Creatures, by which those Saints have been most distinguished, who have been the most inebriated and transported out of themselves by their (as it were) passionate love of their God and Saviour. So far is it, then, from being true that the cultus of Mary, which is so prominent a characteristic of Catholics, is promoted by the devotions of carnal men, that *the very contrary* is true. This cultus has been propagated from above, as it were, not from below ; the mass of pious believers have caught it, not from those who *fall short* of them in piety, but from those who indefinitely exceed them ; from those great Saints who have been, from age to age, the burning and shining lights of the Church.

It may be objected, secondly, that the practice of excommunication for all overt sin of the more grievous sort, would have saved the Church from the election of such sinners to be Popes, and so from the scandals of the tenth century, on which you so earnestly and emphatically dwell. Pray observe, however, the precise point to which my argument is directed. I am not professedly engaged in proving, that that extreme mitigation of the ancient rigour which took place in later times is the more suited to the circumstances of these times ; though I do, indeed, most strongly and confidently think so : but my argument is, that the admission of heretics into communion is, and the admission of orthodox profligates into communion is not, in itself, radically inconsistent with the attainment of those objects, which, as the records of Apostolic times shew, were the very purpose for which the Church was set up. I say that the most abominable wickedness in Popes is not inconsistent with those objects : not with the preservation of pure faith, because we

hold the gift of infallibility to be no less divinely secured to the worst than to the best of Popes; not with the means of holiness, because the influx of the Holy Spirit into the Church is in no way contingent on the moral qualities of her visible head; and during the times most unfortunate in that respect, no less than in those most fortunate, graces and means the most amply sufficient for salvation are offered to every believer, and Saints, moreover, are raised up here and there in the Church, as God may please.

I must not, however, omit to urge another consideration, though it be indeed quite unessential to the course of my reasoning. Let it be remembered, then, that such faults as those to which you draw attention, were the faults of barbarous times; of times when public opinion had incomparably less force than at present; and when, therefore, if the fear of God were once away, there was little else to restrain men from the most flagrant excesses. In the eye of God, and of Christian morality, it is no worse that a person should plunge into the most open infamies, than that he should be restrained from such merely by respect for external decency, and turn his evil energies into some more secret channel, or one less discredited by the general feeling. Nor do I deem it any paradox to maintain, that even the worst among such iniquities as you specify, do not, in the way of natural and probable inference, imply a heart nearly so blinded by the world and the devil, or nearly so alienated from God, as does such an absolute ignoring of His claims, and of the supernatural in general, as characterises the very public opinion, and infects (no exceptional profligates alone, but) the whole mass of ordinary men, in modern England: less, I admit, since the "Evangelical" movement in the last century, and the movement to which you profess adhesion in this; but still, speaking on the whole and in the long-run, at the present day also. I mean such a tone of mind, as is evinced in those animadversions on the purely contemplative life, which we so frequently hear; or the grave allegation, in controversy, as of a serious argument, of the circumstance that Catholicism is less favourable than Protestantism, to temporal security, conveniences, and comforts; or, when inquirers profess a conviction of the truth of Catho-

cism, the putting before them of the worldly inconveniences they risk, as a serious reason for not acting on their convictions; or the regarding almost as Methodistical rant, the expressions of burning and passionate love, in which the Saints have ever vented the deep feelings of their heart towards God. Wherever the light of faith is retained, and the Church's doctrines unfeignedly believed, the mind is saved from those simply grovelling and carnal notions.

Returning to the objection I have to consider, observe this also; taking St. Paul's catalogue of the works of the flesh, if open "fornication, uncleanness, immodesty, luxury, idolatry, witchcrafts, murders, drunkenness," can indeed be kept outside of the true fold by unsparing use of excommunication, yet no such discipline could exempt us from "enmities, contentions, emulations, wraths, quarrels, dissensions, envies," nor from what is still more perilous than all united, worldliness and lukewarmness. Under any state of discipline, men disfigured by such vices as these might be elected Popes; and evils no less serious would result than those which have, in fact, resulted.

You will say, perhaps, that you are referring, not merely to the disuse of excommunication, but to the contrast such facts present, with the general picture of the early Church contained in the New Testament. I cannot but think, on the contrary, that such an instance as that of Judas Iscariot, might prepare us for any amount of wickedness in ecclesiastical rulers at future periods. The Corinthians, again, who were endued with spiritual gifts not unanalogous with the sort of gift enjoyed by a ruler of the Church as such, are represented distinctly as displaying worldliness and love of display in the use of those very gifts; which, yet, were not on that account taken from them. But here the direct evidence is the negative one. The Apostles claimed infallibility; but so far were they from claiming impeccability, that St. Paul himself expresses his need of severe self-discipline, "lest he become a reprobate." And so the direct testimonies to the infallibility in doctrine, whether of the Church in general, or of the Roman See in particular, are innumerable; some I have already specified, and to some more I shall refer in the next section. But where do we find any

testimony of personal impeccability, or even of divinely-promised freedom from grievous sin? When Pope Symmachus, in 499 (see Allies' *See of St. Peter*, p. 92), was unjustly accused of immorality, and the Bishops in various places protested against his being tried, was there one amongst them who professed any divine testimony that a Pope should *not* commit grievous sin? That a course of events has *not* taken place, which no one professes to have been divinely promised, (viz. the Popes being preserved from grievous sin,) can by no sort of logic be used as a presumptive proof, that a course of events has not taken place, (viz. the Popes being preserved from teaching error *ex cathedrâ*,) which multitudes *do* profess to have been divinely promised.

It is difficult, certainly, to please all parties. Sometimes Catholics have been attacked as making the Pope a sort of divinity, insomuch that, like Antichrist, he "sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself as if he were God;" and Catholics have replied by pointing *e. g.* to the fact, that the Pope has his confessor, like any other Catholic. Hardly have we breathed again from this attack, when another comes on us from the opposite quarter; and the very fact in history correlative to this doctrine of our faith, the fact, namely, that this or that Pope *has* committed grievous sin, is brought against us, as an objection to the Church's possession of the note of sanctity.

It is much to be observed also, that the wickedness of certain among the Popes, has been the means of placing in a surpassingly clear light the divine promise of inerrancy to the Church. "It is a fact," as I observed in my former letter, "which has continually been remarked in controversy, and which is such, one would have thought, as forcibly to arrest the attention of the most careless and the most prejudiced, that those very Popes have never promulgated a decision on faith or morals, which has so much as been called in question."

You speak of "the greatest possible sin, occupying without hindrance the holiest possible place, and *using it without hindrance for the vilest purposes.*" I claim, at your hands, proof of the latter proposition. It would be a most unfair argument indeed towards Catholics, to argue as though the Pope had no more special guidance from God, in his maxims and principles of govern-

ment, than the very letter of our doctrines expressly contains; for (as I shall presently urge) far more of immediate guidance, I most firmly believe, is universally vouchsafed. But, as far as the present argument is concerned, I will take my stand merely on the letter; and ask you, in what definite way the Pope's power either ever was, or conceivably could be, "used for the vilest purposes?" You speak as though the facts you adduce led to this conclusion; I am quite at a loss to see how they even *tend* to it, much less prove it: nor do I believe that when, in a subsequent article, you say that "the Roman Church" has "often prostituted her spiritual weapons to the most selfish and mercenary purposes," the cases you have in your eye belong to, or are ever so remotely connected with, these particular cases of scandal. If they have, or if any one of them has, mention that one. In the third article of your series, where you are engaged with the miserable history of Marozia and the rest, you do not so much as allude to any exercise of their "spiritual weapons" by the wicked men who were Popes, except in one single instance: and that instance is really a remarkable case of the exception which proves the rule, so severe are the comments you make on the Pope's missive, and so little are they borne out by fact. You say that John XIIth's letter of excommunication is "more like the insolence of an illiterate school-boy, than the solemn anathema of the supreme spiritual power." I cannot do better than give a literal English translation of it, that my readers may judge how far such censure is merited.

"John, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all the Bishops. We have heard say that you have it in intention to create another Pope. If you do this, I excommunicate you on the part of Almighty God, so that ye may have no power to ordain any one, nor to say Mass."

I am really at a loss to conceive, what is the particular, in this letter, which offends you; except, indeed, the implied principle, that, whatever a Pope's sins, no body of Bishops has the power to depose him against his will: a principle for which there are few Catholics who would not earnestly contend, and which you must not therefore, in arguing with us, *assume* to be false. It is, indeed, as I said above, difficult to understand

how, according to the mere letter of our doctrines, "spiritual weapons" can be used with any vigour or effect "for the vilest purposes." It is absolutely and literally *impossible*, according to our firmly-established doctrine, that any Christian shall be subjected to the spiritual pains of excommunication, for refusing to obey a directly sinful command; from *whatever* authority such command may proceed. An excommunication declared in such a case by the Pope himself (if we may even in arguing *suppose* so frightful a sin), would be, not unlawful only, but absolutely and *ipso facto* invalid. And if you reply, that at last the Pope is judge in the last resort as to what *is* directly sinful, I reply by referring to that very attribute of infallibility, which you think that I invest with so disproportionate importance: I reply that there is a divine gift which ensures for us, that the Pope, in deciding a moral question for the Church in the last resort, will decide it *rightly*; so that, in the extremest conceivable case, the Pope's *doctrine* gives us a secure refuge against the Pope's *act*.

It is indeed, I suppose, abstractedly conceivable (so far as the mere *letter* of our doctrine extends), that some command might issue from Rome, on the one hand not directly enjoining any thing immoral, and yet on the other hand enjoining something indifferent, with a manifestly immoral purpose. Were we to suppose such a case, it would follow that those to whom it is addressed might be in a state of perplexity and difficulty, to know what is their duty under such circumstances. Even so, this is merely one instance of a phenomenon, which, in other shapes, continually meets us. The Church, by divine promise, preserves intact, and holds up for the instruction of her children, the great principles of morality; but the application of those principles to particular cases is a thing which, at times, gives great disquietude to the conscientious mind, and which forms the subject of the *casuistical* science. No object is more important (I may add), with a view to the individual's spiritual advancement, than the removal of such merely external perplexities; in order that he may be free to apply his undivided energies to the task of purifying his soul, and of freeing it more and more from the intrusion of sinful thoughts and desires.

This, in fact, is the very object proposed, and indeed attained, by that system of "probabilism" to which you so violently object. The Church, as she has anxiously watched over the inward life of the soul in other respects, has not been wanting in this also; and (to return to our immediate point) that gradual aggregate of recognised maxims and principles in moral and ascetic theology, of which, by divine promise, the Pope for the time being is ever the faithful guardian and promulgator, will afford us rules for action, not only in other cases of ethical perplexity, but fully as much in those of which (if so be) that same Pope is the occasion or cause.

Again, it is greatly to understate the mere letter of our doctrines, to say that Catholics are not *required* to blind themselves to the sinfulness of evil practices, even though the Pope be enslaved to them. A contemporary of John XIIth's, who should be cognisant of his licentious intrigues, would commit mortal sin if he so much as admitted *one deliberate doubt* that such intrigues, unrepented of, would infallibly lead that Pope to eternal ruin. And if (*per impossibile*) a question could have arisen in the Church on so plain a matter, and had been carried in the last resort to John XII. himself, there is a divine promise that so he would have decided.

I have been speaking hitherto, you see, on the mere letter of our doctrines; a most inadequate ground, for the reason assigned above. I maintain confidently that, over and above the promises contained, as it were drily and abstractedly, in that mere letter, there is a constant and most special watchfulness over all the Ecclesiastical acts of the Holy See; so that although we do not, on the one hand, believe the Pope *infallible* in mere matters of Ecclesiastical conduct and (as one may say) politics, yet, on the other hand, we look upon any public act of the Holy See in quite a different, and indefinitely a more sacred light, than the acts of any other individual or authority whatever; and believe that they are all very specially overruled, by Divine Providence, to the good of the Church.

I cannot better exemplify my meaning, than by begging my readers, after perusing the third article of your series, to turn to the Annals of Fleury for an account of that very period. And

I mention Fleury, because every one knows that (to speak much within bounds) he is a writer who evinces no sort of disposition or inclination, to withdraw from notice facts which have a disparaging effect towards the Holy See. It is impossible, within reasonable limits, to give any sufficient idea of what I mean; but let any one see the regular order and course in which Ecclesiastical affairs proceed, the nurture of Saints, the promotion of holiness. One instance may be specified. No one, I believe, now doubts, that St. Dunstan did a great work in England. Even so moderate a writer as Mr. Churton, if I rightly remember, fully admits it; and the ascetical purity of his life is admitted by his very enemies. St. Dunstan was greatly assisted in his Apostolical labours by his quality of Pope's legate: what Pope gave him this high power and dignity? No other than this very John XII., whose personal vices are so notorious. This does not bear out your idea of "using" his spiritual power "for the vilest purposes." I do not deny, pray observe, that evils of the gravest character afflicted Christendom *negatively*, from the character of various Popes; *i. e.* from their indolence and inactivity towards the general governance of the Church, and the free scope allowed by them to bad practices of various kinds: nor again (of course) do I deny that they were themselves implicated in such: but I wish to see an example of any *active* use of their *spiritual weapons* in behalf of such practices.

Another illustration of the fact, how comparatively little the general character of the Church was obscured, or its framework destroyed, by the wickedness dominant at Rome, will be found in reading the lives of the Saints of these same ages in Alban Butler. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, during which the distractions and vices at Rome were at their climax, he counts as nearly as possible *fifty* Saints; and if we read their lives, we shall see the unmistakable marks of that one type of character, which so singularly separates off the Christian Saint from all other men whatever.

A still more unexceptionable illustration may be taken from Mr. Bowden's *Life of St. Gregory VII.*, because the excellent writer was of your communion, and (most justly) in high repute among you. Hildebrand was educated, indeed, at a time con-

siderably later than the events you mention; but in the same *period*, and under Pontiffs no less unchristian in their lives. The Popes, during the period to which the following extract refers, were John XVIII., whom Mr. Bowden designates as a “profligate Pontiff” (p. 101), and Benedict IX., “who plunged,” after his election, “into every species of debauchery and crime . . . even adultery and murder” (p. 108); yet what was the aspect of the Christian world in general?

“An uncle filled, during the period of his childhood, the situation of Abbot of the Monastery of St. Mary, on the Aventine Hill at Rome; a relative, who may probably be identified with Laurence, the Archbishop of Amalfi, already mentioned, unquestionably a patron and preceptor of Hildebrand. And, under the auspices of this person, *he received an education in the bosom of that Church* which he was destined to defend so conspicuously; rapidly acquiring a knowledge of what were then styled the liberal sciences, and exhibiting from his earliest years the rudiments of that devotional temperament, which, in after life, so strikingly characterised him. He was, says one of his annalists, a monk from his boyhood; *his life, from its very commencement, was one of abstinence, mortification, and self-command.*

“Arrived at man’s estate, he undertook a journey across the Alps. Disgusted with the general laxity of manners which, during the dark period of which we have been treating, prevailed at Rome, he perhaps wished to perfect his habits of discipline by association with purer and stricter fraternities than those with which he was familiar; for we find that he fixed his residence for some time in the celebrated and powerful monastery of Cluni, in Burgundy, a spot in which *the monastic system is described by writers of the day as existing in a state of the fullest perfection.* Here, with all the ardour of a youthful and energetic spirit, he embraced the ascetic habits of the place; and at the same time endeavoured to complete the culture of his mind by a diligent application to all those branches of study for which that celebrated monastery afforded opportunity, establishing for himself, by these means, a reputation which drew on him the eyes of the whole community, and caused the Abbot

Odilo to apply to him the words of the angelic prophecy concerning the Baptist, 'He shall be great in the sight of the Lord.'

"After some time, Hildebrand set out on his return to Rome, and having, either at Cluni or previously to the commencement of his travels, assumed in form the monastic character and habit, he is said to have appeared, on his way to Italy, at the court of Henry III. in the character of a preacher, moving the monarch, after he had attended to his eloquence, to exclaim, that he had never heard a man preach with such boldness the Word of God. But the zeal and the strictness of principle, which had been nurtured at Cluni, excited sentiments less favourable toward Hildebrand among the lax and self-indulgent churchmen of Rome, when he once more took up his residence there. 'He found,' says Paul of Bernried, 'that a prophet has no honour in his own country;' and was led, according to the same historian, to determine on *quitting once more the unworthy city*, and seeking in other climes more congenial associates. But he had no sooner begun to put this intention in practice, than doubts appear to have arisen in his mind of the propriety of the measure. He might well feel that in leaving Rome he was deserting the spot in which Heaven had imposed on him the duty of bearing testimony against the wickedness of the times; and when he had arrived at Acquapendente, thoughts like these embodying themselves in the visions of his sleeping hours, he imagined that St. Peter, on three successive nights, approached his bed, and commanded his return to the appointed sphere of his duty,—a command to which, when the triple occurrence of the dream had impressed him with the belief that it was something more than an ordinary creation of the imagination, he lost no time in exhibiting all dutiful obedience" (vol. i. pp. 127-130).

I have here put down the whole of Mr. Bowden's account, both on the favourable and the unfavourable side; and surely it bears out what I have said. After nearly two centuries of distraction, confusion, and frequent vice, in high places at Rome, still one and one only recognised type of the Christian character; one and one only idea of virtue held out to those who wish to pursue it; in the close neighbourhood of Rome itself, satisfactory ecclesiasti-

cal education supplied; at Cluni, the monastic system “existing in the fullest perfection;” the Emperor so possessed with the true idea of Christianity, as to be deeply affected by zealous and ascetic preaching; Rome finally made the dwelling-place of this austere and unsparing reformer, without the very idea crossing a reader’s mind of *ecclesiastical censures* being conceivably incurred. “The lax and self-indulgent churchmen” there dislike him; but who ever dreams of Benedict IX. using his spiritual power against him? As Father Newman observes, “It is true, there have been seasons when, from the operation of external or internal causes, the Church has been thrown into what was almost a state of *deliquium*; but her revivals” have been “wonderful. . . . She pauses in her course, and almost suspends her functions; she rises again, and she is herself once more; *all things are in their place, and ready for action*. Doctrine is where it was, and usage, and precedence, and principle, and policy;—all is unequivocal and determinate, with an identity which there is no disputing.”—*On Development*, p. 452.

On the whole, I consider that, had your purpose indeed been (as I am persuaded it was not) to raise a merely popular and superficial prejudice against the Catholic Church, such anecdotes as you have given, about the private lives of certain among her rulers, would have been very well chosen for such an object: but that he who is in search for spiritual and supernatural truth, under a deep sense of its indispensable importance, and with a sufficient perception of the helplessness and blindness of mere individual judgment in groping after such truth,—that he will not find this whole class of objections to be so much as even a temporary obstacle in his path.

One word before I conclude this subject. I have drawn your attention to the special Providence which, as we believe, closely encompasses all the spiritual acts of the Supreme Pontiff; a Providence which falls short, indeed, of protecting him from every possible mistake in the use of them, and which it is impossible sharply and clearly to define; yet so watchful and unceasing, that it is impossible for *us* certainly to tell its limits, or pronounce how far any individual act be or be not the very suggestion of Divine Wisdom. Now the natural result on our

mind, from a belief in this high privilege, the very correlative to it, as one may say, is that feeling of devoted *loyalty* to our Holy Father, so characteristic of true Catholics, and of which the highest Saints have ever been the most conspicuous examples. On the one hand, without being infallible in matters of Ecclesiastical conduct, he is yet, to an indefinite extent, divinely guided in them; and, on the other hand, without receiving, as an article of divine faith, the wisdom of his individual measures, we shrink from criticising them, and we obey them in a cheerful and unquestioning spirit. It is easy to speak, as you do, of Rome “prostituting her spiritual weapons to the most selfish and mercenary purposes:” those who allow themselves to criticise, will naturally so express themselves, if the Supreme Pontiff think fit to make greater concessions to some civil ruler, than *they* may deem expedient; or attach greater importance to the preservation, in its integrity, of his temporal power in the Roman States, than *they* may think it deserves; or may treat persecution and loss of Church property as more formidable evils, than *they*, in the plenitude of their irresponsibility and inexperience, may consider them. But devout Catholics, believing that the Holy Father is in so very special a sense under divine guidance, readily call to mind how unfit they are to form such judgments; how small a fragment *they* individually can see, of that large range of phenomena, extending through the whole Catholic world, which is brought before the notice of the Apostolical See; and how little insight *they* have, into the full nature and the fit application of that vast body of ecclesiastical maxims and principles, whereof that See is the depository! And so, without being in any way obliged to exercise a distinct act of judgment, in approbation of each several act which emanates from that high source, they shrink, nevertheless, from any thing like unfavourable criticism; and they render to each, so far as in them lies, an active and ungrudging obedience and co-operation. And it is another part of the same spirit, that while fully knowing that a Pope *may* be a grievous sinner, they are yet slow in believing, without irresistible evidence, that this or that Pope *has been* such; and when they believe it, they are slow in drawing attention to it, unless there be some plain and paramount reason for

so doing. This, believe me, and no wish to *shirk* unpleasant facts, is the cause why we Catholics are unwilling to use the language of rhetoric and invective, when speaking of a Pope's sins; why we confine ourselves to such language, as may suffice nakedly, yet plainly, to indicate the fact; why, in speaking of such Popes, as often as we are able honestly to do it, we drop all allusions to their private life.

VIII. I have assumed in the last chapter, not merely the doctrinal infallibility of the Church, but of the Pope also. Let me now, then, proceed to give some general outline of the proof on which this belief also rests; resuming the argument from the point where I left it, at the end of the sixth section.

In that section I have indicated a general line of argument, which, I consider, evinces, as a broad undeniable fact of history, the identity of the Catholic Church (so called) in every age, and in the present inclusively, with the Apostolic. I have pointed out, for instance, that neither in Scripture nor Antiquity is to be found the slightest hint of any standard of orthodoxy, except the voice of the living Church; and that in every age there has been one Church, and only one, which has proclaimed herself authorised by God infallibly to *judge* of orthodoxy. Now it results directly from this, even apart from all other evidence, that whatever the present Church practically declares as to the privileges accorded by Christ to the Roman See, have really belonged to that See ever *since* Christ so accorded them. Passing on from this, I next observe, that whereas the Apostolic Church, and the immediately post-Apostolic Church, was plainly and confessedly one organised body politic, such a body politic must have some established bond or centre of union; that, from the very first, there have been most explicit testimonies, to the effect that the See of Rome was constituted as that centre of union; and that there are Scripture texts too, so directly and unmistakeably to that effect, that every attempt on the part of Protestant interpreters to give them any other sense has ignominiously failed: every interpretation, except ours, being quite insufferably shallow and jejune. And while there have been such testimonies to this particular organisation as having been instituted by Christ; and while it is quite certain there was *some* such organisation; in

favour of any other whatever, not a particle of testimony, not even a hint, is forthcoming. (See note, p. 20.)

Now, to the conclusion we so obtain, we may add another; viz. that the dogmatic decisions, enforced by the Roman See as terms of communion, are infallibly true. The proof of this is plain; for if the one way appointed by Christ for us to learn doctrine is, that we receive humbly the teaching of His Church; and if that Church be the Visible Body in communion with Rome; to suppose that this body can teach error, is to suppose that Christ Himself can directly teach error. This doctrine, then, being by absolute necessity implied in the former, is sufficiently testified by the proofs which evince the former, and must have been inevitably evolved from it as time went on. But, in fact, it is a consequence, not unperceived at first, but directly recognised. "In the three first centuries," says Mr. Allies, "the Bishop of Rome, and he alone, claims a control over the Churches of the whole world; threatening to sever from his communion . . . such as do not maintain the purity of that faith which he is charged to watch over. . . . The well-known instances of . . . St. Victor censuring the Asiatic, and St. Stephen the African Churches, and of St. Dionysius receiving an apology for his faith from his namesake, the Bishop of Alexandria, are sufficient proofs of this. The force of the fact lies in this, that the Bishop of Rome, *and he alone*, claims, as need may arise, a control over all; but *no one claims a control over him*" (*See of St. Peter*, p. 74). So undeniably is this the case, that every one who considers the subject is compelled to admit, that the conduct of the early Popes *either* flowed from a consciousness of their divinely-given Supremacy, *or* was meddling and intrusive. Protestants invariably accept the latter alternative.

Of course, as the Church came immediately forth from the presence of the Apostles, retaining in all her branches the vivid impress of Apostolical teaching, the prominence of this particular attribute of the Roman See would be indefinitely less in the minds of Christians, than at a later period. But here, again, I have to remark, that whereas (as I urged in the sixth section,) the Church, as a whole, was essentially infallible,—there is no one part of its constitution, to which any single early writer so much

as *dreams* of ascribing this infallibility, except to the Roman See. I have already quoted the well-known passage of St. Irenæus, and also a very strong declaration of St. Cyprian's. From the latter, Mr. Allies gives another :

“ This will be” (the falling into *heresy* and schism) “ so long as there is no regard to the *source of truth*, no looking to the *head* ;” which, as Mr. Allies goes on to shew, is proved by the context to refer to the Roman See (p. 98).

I make no profession, as I have already said, to transcribe a series of such passages as are cited by our controversialists ; my object is to shew the *lie* (as it were) of their argument, and so preclude those innumerable instances of *ignoratio elenchi*, which, as far as my observation extends, are invariably to be found, whenever Protestants, of any opinions, attempt to answer such citations. I will refer you, then, to Mr. Allies' pages, for a copious and significant collection of such passages : and only pause to make two quotations from the records of the fifth century. These I choose, because of the especial authority which your party attribute to the first four Œcumenical Councils.

Pope St. Celestine thus instructs his Legates to the Council of Ephesus :

“ When . . . you . . . shall have reached the appointed place, direct all your counsel to our brother and fellow-bishop Cyril, and do whatsoever shall be advised by him ; and we charge you to take care that the authority of the Apostolic See be maintained. . . If it comes to a discussion, *you are to judge of their* [the Bishops' in Council assembled] *sentences, not to enter into a contest*” (p. 126).

And this is addressed to two bishops and *one presbyter*.

He writes to the Council itself :

“ We have directed, according to our solicitude, our holy brethren and fellow-priests [the Legates], who shall be present at your acts, and *shall carry into effect what we have before determined* ; assent to whom, we doubt not, will be accorded by your Holiness.”

And the Council answers :

“ *Compelled by the sacred canons, and the letter of our most Holy Father and fellow-minister Celestine, Bishop of the Roman Church, we have with tears come, of necessity, to this painful sentence against him.*”

Afterwards, Philip the Legate observes :

“ It is known to all ages that holy and most blessed Peter, *prince and head of the Apostles, pillar of the faith*, and foundation of the Catholic Church, received from our Lord Jesus Christ . . . the keys . . . who *to this very time and for ever*, lives and exercises judgment *in his successors* ” (See of *St. Peter*, &c. pp. 78, 9).

Turn now to the fourth Œcumenical Council, that of Chalcedon ; and observe the letter which it formally and synodically addresses to the Pope at the conclusion of its proceedings. A few extracts from this remarkable document shall here follow.

“ The holy, great, and Œcumenical Council, assembled at Chalcedon . . . by the grace of God, and the command of our most pious and Christ-loving Emperors, to Leo, most holy and blessed Archbishop of the Romans.

“ Our mouth was filled with laughter, and our tongue with joy . . . for what can be higher matter of concern for joy, than the Faith ? or motive for brighter pleasure than *the knowledge of the Lord*, which the Saviour Himself delivered to us from above for our salvation ? . . . *This knowledge*, descending to us like a golden chain from the command of Him who established it, *thou hast kept throughout* ; being set forth to all men as *the interpreter of the voice of the Blessed Peter*, and drawing upon all the blessing of his faith. Whence we also, *enjoying the advantage of thee as our leader unto good*, have exhibited the inheritance of the truth to the children of the Church. . . .”

Dioscorus “ turned his madness even against *the very one entrusted by the Saviour with the guardianship of the vine*,—thy Holiness, we mean. . . .”

We are “ persuaded that, *as you shine yourself in the full light of Apostolic radiance* . . . you can afford without grudging to *impart your own blessings to your kindred*,” *i. e.* the Patriarch of Constantinople. . . .

“ But that you may know that we have done nothing out of favour or enmity, *but as guided by the divine will*, we have left *the whole force of the acts to you*, that you may approve of us, *confirming and assenting to what we have done*.”*

I only wish there were room to transcribe the whole letter at length.

Not professing, however, as I said before, to place before you such testimonies in detail, I will yet draw your atten-

* Quoted by Mr. Allies, *Church of England cleared*, &c. ; 2d edit. pp. 298-302.

tion to the marvellousness and supernaturalness of the history of the Papal power, as a whole. I am not speaking merely of its achievements (most wonderful as they are), but of its *achievements compared with its predictions*: a consideration which adds, you will confess, quite an immeasurable increase to the evidence of its divine mission. There may have been other instances (though I do not know them) of influences, so widely and so deeply operative on such great masses of men; yet they may have been the unforeseen result of natural causes. The power and internal consolidation, for instance, of the English nation is extremely great, and yet we unhesitatingly attribute it to such causes; but what if it were a proved fact, that in the days of Julius Cæsar the whole nation was impressed by the consciousness of its future greatness? who then could talk of natural causes? Now this is more nearly a parallel to the case before us. Observe the boldness and decisiveness of attitude, in regard to the Faith, assumed by Rome, in the very cradle (as one may say) of Christianity; observe the confidence and peremptoriness of tone adopted by it on every occasion; its unhesitating assumption of securely pronouncing upon questions of Faith and heresy. Then compare with this early claim to power, the witnessed results of its exercise. In that period of the Church which your party (in the extravagance and wantonness of its eclecticism,) designates as exclusively pure; while those doctrinal formulæ were in process of accretion, which you regard as the very charter of the Christian Church;—at every doctrinal crisis, one voice is articulately and distinctly heard, the voice of Rome; and heard, proclaiming that one determination, which is sure ultimately to find acceptance with the Church, and which your writer's (most justly) regard as alone consistent with the Truth of Christ. Time passes on; in every age, from every Christian country, under every shifting circumstance, under every variety of pressure from without, under every change of habit and character, innumerable questions on doctrine, on morals, on ritual, come before the Holy See, and press for a decision: and the vast body of decrees, so gradually accruing, when the leisure of subsequent times catalogues and arranges them, are found to issue in a body of

teaching, which *you* may regard as *false*, but which its very enemies admit to be so wonderfully *consistent*, that they derive a reproach against the Catholic Religion from that very fact. Nor is this a dormant power, whereof we read in history: its responses are proceeding as regularly and unfailingly, and are being registered as assiduously, in the present, as in any former century. And yet, still further to increase the marvel, with all these bonds drawing it to the olden times, with all this superincumbent weight of past decrees pressing upon it,—so much of elastic vigour is nevertheless found, so much power of dealing with new circumstances as they arise, so ready a perception of the means which act on human nature, that at this very day there is no one moral or spiritual authority, of which it can be even colourably alleged, that it acts on mankind with a consistency and influence that will enable it to bear a moment's comparison with this so ancient, yet so young, power. Different minds will, of course, be impressed differently with such a fact as this: to me it seems no less than an independent evidence of the truth of Christianity itself, equalling in cogency any other whatever.

With what singular fidelity the Holy Roman Church has ever preserved the purity of the Faith, is made the more manifest, the more closely historical facts are investigated and appreciated. In my former letter I “challenged you to produce a single undisputed instance, from the reign of St. Peter to that of Pius IX., where any Pope, under whatever pressure of temporal difficulty, to whatever threats or whatever allurements he may have been exposed, has continued to hold communion with any one, king or subject, who has openly and wilfully maintained what he or any of his predecessors had pronounced heresy.” And as the limits which I was imposing on myself, did not allow me to treat individually of the few objections raised against this general statement, I shewed that I had not forgotten their existence, by at least specifying them. “The continual stress,” I proceeded, “laid by our opponents on particular isolated acts, such as that of Liberius, or the events consequent upon the fifth Œcumenical Council, very far as these facts are from bearing out their case, shews how impossible they

find it to deny this proposition." In your answer, you claim this case of Liberius as a real objection to my assertion; and I am thereby placed under the obligation of saying a word or two on that subject.

You think that possibly "a reply lurks in the word 'undisputed,'" and that "it is intended to take advantage of that loop-hole." Of course, as I specifically mentioned Liberius, it is clear that his case was in my thoughts, and that I worded my challenge with express remembrance of it; but the "loop-hole" of which I "intended to take advantage," or, (as I should prefer to word it,) the very reasonable qualification on which I intended to insist, is not in the word "undisputed," but in the word "continued." I meant to express that most reasonable canon in the interpretation of Ecclesiastical history, expressed by Father Newman in his recent lectures, as a concession readily made by him to Anglican controversialists.

"I do grant," he says, "that it has a narrow and technical appearance to rest the catholicity of a religious body on particular words or deeds or measures . . . *accomplished in minutes or in days*. I allow it and feel it; that a particular vote of Parliament, endured or tacitly accepted by bishops and clergy, or by the metropolitan; or a particular appointment, or a particular omission, or a particular statement of doctrine, *should at once change the spiritual character of a body* . . . is almost incredible. . . . The Anglican Church . . . would be to-day pretty much what it was yesterday, though in the course of the night it had allowed an Anglo-Prussian See to be set up in Jerusalem, and subscribed to a disavowal of the Athanasian Creed. *This is the common sense of the matter*, to which the mind recurs with satisfaction, after zeal and ingenuity have done their utmost to prove the contrary. Of course, I am not saying that individual acts do not tend towards, and a succession of acts does not issue in, the most serious spiritual consequences; but it is so difficult to determine the worth of each ecclesiastical act, and what its position is relatively to acts and events before and after it, that I have no intention of urging any argument deduced from such. . . . *Judgments admit of repeal or reversal; enactments are liable to flaws and informalities; laws require promulgation; words must be interpreted, either by the context or by circumstances; majorities may be analysed; responsibilities may be shifted*" (*Lectures on Anglican Difficulties*, pp. 42, 3).

This most reasonable principle has been fully granted by me above, in all that I have said against your Establishment; and it is equally available surely, if necessary, in defence of our own Church. One isolated exceptional act, revoked as soon as done, commits to heresy neither individual, nor See, nor Church.

Let us for the present then, and for argument's sake, take Liberius's lapse for granted: there cannot be a better illustration of the truth of the above canon, than a review of the circumstances attending that lapse, taken in connexion with that general account of Church authority, which I endeavoured to express in the sixth section of the present Letter.

From the way many objectors speak, one would suppose that Liberius, from the moment of his (alleged) apostacy, acted a part in Church history on the heretical side, as possessors of the other principal sees have done; like Nestorius of Constantinople, or Dioscorus of Alexandria, or Paul Samosatene of Antioch. There cannot be a greater mistake. Look at the position assumed by him before the face, as it were, of the Church; in the hurry and tumult (as one may say) of pressing and thronging events. He had not long been restored to his See, when the well-known Council of Ariminum was held, in which, as St. Jerome says, the world was astonished to find itself Arian. One would imagine, from the tone of objectors, that Liberius would have had some part in, or at least some sympathy with, this Council. But how stands the fact? His successor, St. Damasus, confutes the claims of this Council to Catholicity, by pointing out that, among others, the Pope of the day, who was Liberius himself, had not given his assent.*

Take, again, the following scene from a later period of his life; which I quote from Fleury, a writer who gives full credence to his alleged lapse.

In the year 366, the semi-Arians of the East, "seeing themselves persecuted, &c. . . thought that in this extremity they should have recourse to the Emperor Valentinian and *the Pope Liberius*; and that

* "Neque enim præjudicium aliquod nasci potuit ex numero eorum, qui apud Ariminum convenerant; cum constet, neque Romanum Episcopum (cujus *ante omnes* fuit expetenda sententia), neque Vincentium Capuanum, . . . neque alios, consensum aliquem commodasse." Quoted by Zaccaria, *ut infra*.

it was better to embrace the faith of the Westerns, than communicate with the party of Eudoxus. . . .

“The deputies, having arrived in Italy, found that the Emperor was away . . . and gave the letters with which they were entrusted to *the Pope Liberius*. At first the Pope *would not receive them, looking upon them as Arians* who had abolished the faith of Nicæa. They answered, that they had returned from that error, and had long ago rejected the belief of the Anomæans, &c. Liberius demanded of them their confession of faith in writing; and they gave it to him, such as we still have it.

“They declared in it, as deputies from the Council of Lampsacus to the Pope and all the bishops of Italy and the West, that men are bound to keep inviolably the faith of the Nicene Council; and that the word ‘*consubstantial*’ was holily and religiously inserted in that Creed against the error of Arius. They condemn Arius and his impious doctrine, with his disciples and adherents. They condemn all heretics; the Sabellians, Patripassians, Marcionites, Photinians, Marcellians, and Paul Samosatene; their doctrine, and all their adherents: in a word, all heresies contrary to the Nicene faith. They condemn, particularly, the exposition of faith which was read at Ariminum, &c. They transcribe at full length the Nicene symbol; affix their subscriptions; and add, ‘If any one, after this exposition of faith, wishes to bring any accusation against us, or against those who have sent us, let him come, with letters from your Holiness, before orthodox bishops *whom you shall have approved*; let him there be judged with us, and let him who shall be convicted, be punished.’ . . .

“*The Pope Liberius* having thus received assurances from the deputies of the Easterns, *received them into his communion, &c.*” (Book xvi. chap. 7).

Here we see the Pope in his old position; examining other bishops as to the soundness of their faith, and, on obtaining assurance of the same, receiving them into his communion. And that faith no other, than that one precise and well-guarded doctrine, laid down in their successive decrees by his venerated predecessors.

Liberius’s subscription, then, to an Arian formula (if it ever took place) was an act without antecedents or consequents; a naked, isolated, exceptional act, tacitly revoked as soon as done. How little prejudice would result from such an act to the reason-

ings in which the Pope's infallibility is inferred, will be at once perceived, if we look back at those reasonings. If the one way appointed by Christ, I said, for learning the doctrine revealed by Him, is the listening with docility to the teaching set forth by the Church in communion with Rome, to suppose that the Roman See can make a false opinion the condition of communion, is to suppose that Christcan directly teach error. Now, in such a case as that of Liberius, would any such consequence follow? nay, would a humble Christian who had learned to look up to the Roman See for infallible guidance, experience any real difficulty or perplexity as to its real teaching? For years the Holy See has been the faithful champion of the Nicene faith. For the space of two years, Liberius has been known to be in exile on the very ground of his adherence to it. Presently he is found again in active possession of his See, faithfully and constantly maintaining the same faith. But a report spreads and reaches the ear of many, that in one moment of weakness he has given the lie to all that he has most strenuously professed both before and since; that he has subscribed a confession of faith critically short of the truth; has written letters of communion to certain Arianising prelates, and promised a refusal of communion to the great Athanasius.* Tidings these, indeed, full of misery and shame; but can any one say that, as a practical question, a humble Christian, seeking with simple intention guidance from the Holy See, will thereby experience one moment's doubt as to the real judgment of that See? The past teaching of the Roman Bishop has been one continuous uninterrupted fact; a fact producing marked and unceasing influence on the whole current of ecclesiastical events. The present teaching of the Roman Bishop is likewise a plain consistent fact be-

* The condemnation of St. Athanasius, as is well known, was not on the ground of his doctrine, but of certain immoralities most wickedly imputed to him. As to the letters to the Eastern bishops, Bellarmine mentions that they purport to be grounded on the circumstance, that he "found their faith to be in agreement with the Catholic, and far removed (*alienam*) from the *Arian perfidy*." No doubt, Liberius well knew, both that St. Athanasius was innocent, and that these Eastern bishops Arianised; and the act, therefore, (if it took place,) was not the less *sinful* for these reasons: but it far less compromised Liberius's character as teacher of the Catholic Faith. Every one admits that the formula which he subscribed was not heretical *directly*, but by *implication*; viz. as being purposely short of the truth.

fore his eyes, and is in precise harmony with its past continuous uninterrupted tenour. A report reaches him, the very truth of which it is difficult to test, that for one moment, in a region remote from general observation, that continuous course was interrupted. It is difficult to him to test the truth of this statement, because as to any visible effect of such momentary lapse on the course of ecclesiastical events,—as to any consequent triumph of Arians or despondency of orthodox,—as to any effect (as one may say) on the ecclesiastical *scale* by the accession of the weight of so eminent a See,—nothing of the sort is to be discovered. It is the spirit of *controversy* surely which here finds room to *cavil*, not the spirit of *docility* which meets with any serious perplexity.

Such considerations as the above would lead one *à priori* to doubt, whether, at last, this much-vaunted fact admits of being historically supported. Nor can any one acquainted with the opposite arguments, for a moment imagine, as you seem to imagine, that any such doubt is the mere wantonness of controversial ingenuity, the mere resolution to question every thing which makes against our cause. The mere mention of such a name as the grave and profoundly learned Zaccaria (and he is only one of a considerable number) is enough entirely to overthrow such an idea; and any fair consideration of the arguments he adduces, will at least shew that Liberius's lapse is no very certain or indisputable event. Let me draw your attention to some of these arguments.

He cites the accounts given of Liberius's return by Sulpicius Severus, by Socrates, by Theodoret, by Cassiodorius; all four of whom attribute it simply to the tumult of the Roman people, which Constantius found himself unable to resist. Theodoret, moreover, calls him expressly an "athlete for the truth," "illustrious, and most worthy of all praise;" Cassiodorius, "a defender of the truth and conqueror," "a most holy man."

Zaccaria further argues from the joy and acclamation with which the Romans received Liberius on his return. How firm and exclusive they were in their adherence to the Nicene faith, is shewn by what Theodoret mentions; viz. that not one of them would *enter the church* while Felix the anti-Pope was

there, because Felix, although himself orthodox, yet freely communicated with heretics.* A people so orthodox would not have received Liberius on his return with acclamations, had that return been purchased by even momentary Apostasy.

Another argument is drawn from the fact, that while it is perfectly unquestionable, that after his return Liberius continued to be a constant upholder of the Nicene Faith, there is no trace whatever in history of any formal retraction being put forth by him. It is carefully mentioned by historians, how that all who lapsed at Ariminum publicly retracted; but as to Liberius, from whom a retraction would have been far more imperatively necessary, there is no where so much as a hint of any such transaction.

Liberius's address to the Italian bishops, on the subject of these very lapsed brethren, is another most striking fact. He is recommending by various arguments the adoption of a lenient course towards them; and the very first thing in his mouth, if he had himself at one time lapsed, must have been a reference to this circumstance: but not a word ever so distantly alluding to it is to be found.

Why, again, Zaccaria asks, was not Liberius invited to Ariminum? Granted that he had by that time repented of his lapse, still the Emperor's knowledge that he *had* once lapsed would give every hope that he might, without much difficulty, be impelled to lapse again; and the countenance of so principal a bishop as (even on any Anglican theory) was the Roman, would have been an incalculable advantage to the heretical party.

The treatise from which I have been quoting is to be found in Zaccaria's edition of Petavius; and is also inserted by its author in his *Thesaurus Theologicus*, vol. ii.: it is entitled, "De commentitio Liberii lapsu." He proceeds to examine the various evidences on which the allegation rests which he is opposing, and disposes of them in various ways. How far he is successful, or on which side the arguments as a whole preponderate, I have

* This one fact affords a sufficient answer to a charge implied by you against Liberius, and resting (as far as I am aware) on no shadow of foundation. "It does not appear," you say, "that he ever renounced communion with the great patron of Arianism, the Emperor Constantius." Had this been so, could he possibly have been so enthusiastically beloved by the Roman people?

neither that learning nor that critical power which entitle me to form a judgment. But a person must be bereft of his senses who should refuse to admit, that the arguments I have been reciting are in themselves strong and cogent; or who should regard Zaccaria's judgment as the mere wanton ingenuity of unscrupulous controversy.

So much as to the case of Liberius. As you use the phrase, "to say nothing of Honorius," I presume you do not wish me to enter on *his* vindication from the charge of holding communion with known heretics: otherwise I am perfectly prepared to do so. I had mentioned another instance also of apparent objection to my statement, viz. the events which followed the Fifth Œcumenical Council; and I may here add, certain other events, of which the account is not dissimilar, which followed the Seventh. But as you do not insist on the former of these, and as my Letter has already much exceeded the limits I had intended, I will say no more on this subject, unless distinctly called upon.

I will further add, that when I "challenged you to produce a single undisputed instance . . . where any Pope . . . has continued to hold communion" with a known heretic, although (as I have stated) I laid the chief stress of my qualification on the word "continued," I did not use the word "undisputed" without a meaning. And my meaning was as follows. Supposing there *were* some one isolated circumstance in Ecclesiastical History, which we found it, on our principles, difficult or impossible to explain, I confidently maintain it would be most unreasonable to regard this as a refutation of our arguments. We may be pretty confident, indeed, that the fact is far otherwise; for the diligently ingenious researches of our opponents into History, have by this time done their utmost; and we know how little that utmost is. But were the fact as supposed;—let it be observed, that the conclusions above come to have been grounded, not on individual facts however numerous, but on the whole, consistent, undeviating tenor of Scripture and Antiquity. I say boldly, "consistent and undeviating," because (as I have more than once remarked) true though it may be that even Saints have at times been led both into words and acts, which they would have

avoided had the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy been distinctly and in shape present to their mind, with all its consequences and applications ;—neither word nor act of theirs nevertheless can be so much as alleged, implying any *other* doctrine: implying any principle on the subject, different from ours, which can be so much as put into consistent shape. Now consider on the other hand, how uncertain is almost any one individual fact of past times, which rests *merely* on documents; any fact which stands naked and isolated in contemporary records, and which is not, as it were, stamped with authenticity by having led to wide or permanent consequences on the broad field of human events. What a *toto cœlo* opposition of character is there, for instance, between the evidence (taken at its strongest) for the Arianising of Liberius, and that which exists for Pelagius's tenets, *e. g.*, or Nestorius's, or, again, for Vigilius's dealings with Justinian. This latter is the class of facts, which I meant to characterise in the above quotation as "*undisputed*;"* and if one of these could be brought clearly against us, I should have not a word more to say. But as to the former class of facts, observe what havoc has already been made on them by the advance of criticism. It is not so very long since multitudes of Protestants fully believed in the fable of Pope Joan; which has even (I believe) found its way into the accredited homilies of your Church. I may quote here Zaccaria's words in the treatise which I have just been citing. "How many things," he says, "were formerly believed, no very diligent inquiry having been gone through, which by the learned of our own age are either denied or doubted! Consult the acts of

* A passage from Paley's *Evidences* will illustrate my meaning here. "We may lay out of the case," he says (Prop. 2d, chap. i. sect. 4), "what I call *naked* history. It has been said, that if the prodigies of the Jewish history had been found only in fragments of Manetho or Berosus, we should have paid no regard to them: and I am willing to admit this. If we knew nothing of the fact but from the fragment; *if we possessed no proof that these accounts had been credited and acted upon* from times probably as ancient as the accounts themselves; *if we had no visible effects connected with the history*, no subsequent or collateral testimony to confirm it; under these circumstances, I think, it would be undeserving of credit. But this certainly is not our case. In appreciating the evidence of Christianity, the books are to be combined with the institution; with the prevalency of the religion;" &c. &c. "Whether this proof be satisfactory or not, it is properly a *cumulation of evidence*, not a *naked or solitary record*." I think that these observations point to a distinction, of the utmost importance in testing the authenticity of alleged historical facts.

the Saints drawn out and illustrated by the Bollandists, and you will see how many fables inexperienced antiquity accounted as real acts of Martyrs and histories of Saints. Consult the appendices to the recent edition of the holy Fathers, which the Benedictines have illustrated, &c." I say, then, that if there were some one recorded fact, a fact *merely* recorded and not widely or permanently influential, a fact (as Paley would say) of *naked* history, which (taken as it stands) were directly opposed to our principles, it would be nothing less than the extremity of unreasonableness to allow it any decisive weight. What criticism *has* done, criticism *may* do; and nothing is more possible, than that the learned of some future age may either altogether overthrow its credibility, or else bring into light some other long-forgotten circumstances attending it, which may wholly alter its character and its bearing. The Catholic conclusions, on the other hand, rest on none of these isolated and merely *recorded* stories; they rest on the broad, unmistakable, indisputable, palpable features of Christian history, from the Apostolic era downwards.

Nor must we forget, as an historical argument, the fact already mentioned, of the numberless passages of Antiquity, in which the constancy of St. Peter's See, as regards the maintenance of the Apostolic Faith, is commemorated and eulogised. Apart from all theological arguments, this is surely most important as testimony to an *external fact*. We have already seen the language held by the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon; I will add one more instance, because it occurs in the acts of the very Council which anathematised Honorius. The letter of Pope Agatho, read in this sixth Council, after defining the Faith against the Monothelites, thus proceeds: "This is the rule of true Faith, which the Apostolic Church of Christ, *this spiritual mother of your most tranquil empire, warmly held and defended*, both in prosperity and adversity; which Church, through the grace of God, is shewn *to have strayed at no time from the path of Apostolic Tradition*, and never succumbed, perverted by the novelties of heretics: but as, from the commencement of Christian Faith, it received *from its founders, the princes of the Apostles of Christ, so it incorruptibly retains to the end*. . . . Let, then, your serene clemency consider that the Lord and Saviour of all,

Whose gift Faith is, and Who *promised that the Faith of Peter shall not fail*, charged him to confirm his brethren ; and *it is notorious to all that the Apostolic Pontiffs, my predecessors, have always done so intrepidly.*" And this Council (the very Council which proceeded to anathematise Honorius) received the letter with acclamations, and cried out, "Peter has spoken through Agatho." (Quoted by Kenrick on the Primacy, pp. 150, 1.)

But it is not a question only of *historical* probability ; it is a question of what one may call *doctrinal* probability. If there be so wonderful a continuity of instances, and those throughout every age of the Church, in which God has preserved the Supreme Pontiff from teaching doctrinal error ;—if there be no other living and permanent authority whatever, in behalf of which such a claim can by possibility be made ;—and if, on the other hand, there have been from the first such singular *anticipations* of this future fact, both on the part of Popes and of others ;—is it credible that one or two isolated facts (were there such) are *real* exceptions to so apparently supernatural a rule ? Even in human matters, where a person, who in numberless instances has displayed noble and exalted qualities, lies in some particular instance under a cloud which he is unable for the moment to clear up, no one with a heart regards it as a mark of candour, but rather of ungenerous faithlessness, at once to deny, or even doubt, his real consistency of character. Yet an exception to the otherwise uniform tenour of a *man's* conduct, is surely of far more easy belief than a similar exception in the case of God.

IX. I cannot more practically conclude this too long Letter, than with the same observation which originally closed my "four octavo pages." "Give up," I said, "your so-called Catholic principles, if you have the heart. But in the name of common honesty, do not profess to retain them, and yet look upon a body like the Establishment as being part of the Catholic Church. Whatever further may or may not be your duty, to renounce all allegiance to the Establishment is at least a plain and undeniable duty. And let me add, that it is by taking our first step immediately upon our conviction, that we shall have the best hope for God's guidance in taking our

second step aright." You imply, indeed, that the tone of this conclusion is inconsistent with the spirit of my letter subsequently addressed to you; how far this is so, my readers will now be able to judge. I may point out, however, that, as the whole tone of my paper shewed, I was addressing those who profess to think and reason for themselves. And I will add, that when I spoke of "renouncing all allegiance to the Establishment," I did not mean to advocate the immediate *quitting* of that body, but the ceasing from all active part in its defence; from all ecclesiastical agitation; from all *inward* habit of confidently "looking upon it as part of the Catholic Church."

To explain further my meaning, and, at the same time, sum up my general line of argument. You profess yourselves to be humble followers of the Ancient Church; your whole public position, your whole agitation, your whole inward belief, proceed professedly on this basis. I ask, Is there one single principle to be found, through the whole length and breadth of the Ancient Church from Apostolic times inclusively, which would entitle you to regard that as a living branch of the Catholic Church, in which there is nothing which you can even *profess* to be a security for orthodoxy? or, again, in which such tenets as those cited in my 4th section on the Blessed Trinity, or on Baptismal Regeneration, have been fully tolerated for so many years? Or can you mention in any definite shape, merely as a theory, any Ecclesiastical Organisation whatever, in behalf of which you can even *imagine*, that (on the one hand) it was delivered by the Apostles and received by the early Church as divinely given, and (on the other hand) that it is consistent with the position of your bishops and with your own attitude in their regard? Or can you attach any meaning to the words, "the authoritative teaching of a Church not infallible," (1) which shall be self-consistent; (2) which shall bear even a distant resemblance to any thing witnessed in the early Church; (3) which shall coincide with the practice of your own Establishment? If you can do no one of these four things, or if there were only one of the four which you could not do, then to speak confidently, and to agitate, in behalf of your Church, on the professed grounds of Antiquity, is simply dishonest and rascally; as much

so as picking a pocket or plundering a house. I am not, of course, implying that any of you *consciously* act thus iniquitously; but I wish to point out the real nature of what some among you perhaps *unconsciously* do. I say then that, apart from all question of *consequences*, to abstain from lying on sacred matters is a direct and immediate duty; and it is by acting boldly and unhesitatingly up to our *immediate* duties, that we have the best chance of being guided aright in our *further* course. And no educated man surely is in *invincible ignorance* of our Church's claims, who permits himself in a course of energetic agitation for his own Church, or even in an inward habit of blind and unquestioning attachment to it, on principles which he cannot so much as state distinctly or put into consistent shape.

I say then that consequences have here no right to be considered; that you are bound, in common honesty, to act in this way. At the same time, as regards those of you who are really attached to the principles advocated by your party, I can have no serious doubt what *would* be the consequence: and my reason is the following. If our doctrine is true, your Establishment has been removed, now these three hundred years, from the unity of the Church and the pure fountains of tradition, and exposed to indefinite attacks from the heretical and the worldly spirit in every shape; while the Church to which we belong has all through that time cherished the very truth of Christ in her innermost heart, and has practically applied it to the Christian life in numberless external practices and observances. If this be so, it follows at once, that there must be very much in the external exhibition of the Church, which those in your position feel, at first sight, to contravene their expectations, and jar with their habitual ideas of propriety and religiousness. This is no *argument*, indeed, against us;—a phenomenon which must necessarily result if our doctrine be *true*, is no presumption (to say the very least) that our doctrine is *false*. But though not an argument, it prevails, I think, with the great majority of you, more powerfully than a thousand arguments. It enlists against us your prepossessions, your moral feelings, and what (with no unnatural mistake) you regard as the voice of your conscience.

And so long as you practically fix your undivided attention on *your own* Church, bear to it full allegiance, and are busy in carrying out its practices and agitating for its "freedom,"—this mere unreasoning impulse, of which I have spoken, is felt by you as a sufficient warrant for ignoring the claims of Rome, and blinding yourselves (so far as possible) to her very existence.

But if your eyes were once opened to see the plain and immediate duty of abandoning entirely, (whatever comes of such abandonment,) all attempt to defend your Establishment on the principles of the early Church, and all profession or inward feeling of allegiance to it on those principles, the case is widely altered. If the treacherous crutch on which you were resting is torn from your grasp, you may be led to cast a wistful eye on the true Pillar. If you learn to renounce all claim and all prerogative to *teach* on the part of your Church; and if you still feel your great need of some spiritual guide;—you will fix on her who claims alone to be that guide, a yearning and anxious look, widely different from your former gaze of indifference or aversion. If Scripture and Antiquity seem to make it very clear that the Church is indefectible; and if your own Establishment plainly be *not* part of the Church;—there will be a strong *à priori* probability of *truth* on our side, which may ultimately even outweigh with you the *à priori* probability you formerly thought to exist, for the *falsehood* of our allegations. No longer will you be contented with noting the differences in external *dress* between the Catholic Church of the nineteenth and of the fourth century; you will be led to look below the surface, and search for an inward identity of principle and of doctrine. It will not now be sufficient to stay inquiry, that various external practices are *primâ facie* idolatrous; you will be led to follow the people in the whole course of their daily religion, and see whether their devotion to the most loved of Mothers *be* of an idolatrous character. You will seek in every respect to penetrate below the surface,—to acquaint yourselves with our ascetical treatises, with our doctrinal controversies, with our doctrinal decisions. You will discover, by observation, the uprightness and conscientiousness of deportment, which so characteristically

mark off the mass of men among us, who are frequent at Confession, from the mass of men who are regular at their duties in any other religious denomination whatever. You will learn to distinguish between the consistent and supernatural sanctity of our ascetics, and the spurious and one-sided imitations of it, attempted even by pious men external to the visible pale of the Church. You will acquire some knowledge as to the practical devotions of our people; the habits of our priests; the discipline of our seminaries; the rule of our religious: matters with which (to judge from what I remember of my own knowledge when a Protestant, or from what I have found Protestants in general to know,) I believe that you are commonly about as well acquainted, as with the metaphysics of Confucius and the politics of Kamschatka.

I am not implying, that you will be able to satisfy your mind about every particular of our system, while you remain external to the Church. You have no right whatever to expect this, for it would be to supersede the principle of faith altogether. Even Catholics, during their whole pilgrimage below, must be content to accept much on simple faith: it were indeed a frightfully antichristian presumption to imagine, that in this life man's moral instincts *can* so expand as to be commensurate with God's revelation, or *can* be so purified and elevated as to be a sufficient standard of Eternal Truth. But you will learn far more than is abundantly sufficient to remove your existing prejudices, and to give you a deep and sure conviction (which it will be at your peril to disregard,) of the obligation incumbent on you of submitting to the sweet yoke of the Catholic Church. From this careful examination of our doctrine you are at present deterred, some of you by mere contentment with your present position, some by a conscientious belief that such examination would be sinful; and I wish therefore to shew you how very clear and undoubted it is, that such contentment is most unreasonable, and such examination no sin, but a duty.

Only, in what I have said, I should be sorry indeed if I have appeared to forget one thing which, I doubt not, you also will carefully bear in mind: I mean this; that to lead us into religious truth is the especial office of the Holy Spirit, and that little

profit, therefore, can be expected from inquiries, even the most candid and the most laborious, unless carried on at every step, from first to last, in the spirit of prayer, of watchful and anxious dependence upon God, and of pressing earnestly forward to know and follow His blessed will.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. G. WARD.

POSTSCRIPT.

WHILE the foregoing sheets were passing through the press, your last article on "Anglo-Romanism" appeared. I have thought it best, on the whole, to avoid reference to it in the pages subsequently printed, and to reserve for this place what little is to be said about it.

The general question of *Indulgences*, with which this article is concerned, and of their practical effect on the Catholic's religious life, is one of great importance, and on which a controversialist on your side has every right to demand explanation. But it leads to so completely different a line of thought from that with which the present Letter has been engaged, that you will not (I am sure) expect me to enter on it here. It is well treated, I think, by Manzoni in his *Morale Cattolica*.

I will here confine myself then to noticing one or two, not unnatural, misconceptions, into which you have fallen. An altar, such as you mention, at which whoever says Mass gains a plenary indulgence for the dead, is called with us a *privileged* altar; and such altars are not, as you seem to think, rare, but extremely common. Moreover, plenary indulgences for the dead, gained in other ways, are equally efficacious (*as* indulgences) with those gained this way. Now nothing is more easy than for any Catholic, man or woman, to gain a plenary indulgence for the

dead, at least every time he or she goes to Communion. I will quote one instance in particular, because it contains the very phrase on which you comment.

“SS. DD. N. PP. Pius VII. . . . benignè in perpetuum concessit facultatem publicandi plenariam peccatorum remissionem, et *unius animæ a purgatorii pœnis liberationem*, jampridem à Clemente VIII. et Benedicto XIV decretam, ab omnibus utriusque sexûs Christi fidelibus lucrandam, qui corde contrito confessi, et sacrâ refecti Synaxi, ante Sanctissimi Crucifixi imaginem, sequentem orationem, quocunque idiomate, piè recitaverint. ‘En ego, ô bone et dulcissime Jesu,’ &c.” (found several books of devotion; *e. g. Libellus Precum*, p. 155).

Next I remark, that it is not the more common opinion of *theologians*, that these indulgences for the dead have an infallible efficacy; in such sense that the soul for whom they are obtained is certainly delivered from Purgatory. Perrone (*De Indulgentiis*, s. 87, note 2) calls it the “*communis theologorum sententia*,” that when a plenary indulgence is gained for a soul in Purgatory, the effect is much less certain than when gained by a Christian “viator” for himself; that in the former case, a full satisfaction indeed and price is offered to God for the debt of punishment remaining to be paid by such soul, but that God has bound Himself by no promise to accept this satisfaction; and that it rests with Him, to what extent, or whether at all, He *will* accept it. There is no call then, as you think there is, for “those who are anxious to join” the Catholic Church, “heartily and in their conscience to believe” a doctrine, which the Church does not authoritatively teach or recommend. If he thinks there are moral or intellectual difficulties in the way of that doctrine (as I confess I think myself there are), that will be a reason to him for assenting to those theologians who do not accept it. At the same time, I wish you distinctly to understand, that there are several theologians, and among them some of the greatest names in the Church, who *do* think that all these plenary indulgences, when duly gained, have an infallible effect.

But if *theologians* are *divided* on this subject, the *practical impression and belief of the multitude* (which is your main point) is assuredly in unanimous opposition to this doctrine of infallible

HERESY AND IMMORALITY

CONSIDERED

IN THEIR RESPECTIVE BEARING ON

The Notes of the Church.

BEING

A FINAL LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE "GUARDIAN."



By WILLIAM GEORGE WARD,

AUTHOR OF

"ONE WORD ON THE EXISTING CONSTITUTION OF THE ANGLICAN ESTABLISHMENT,"
AND OF TWO PREVIOUS LETTERS.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
SECT.	
I. Professed heretics essentially external to the Church	1
II. The admixture of evil men with good within the Church considered on the ground of Antiquity	13
III. The admixture of evil men with good within the Church considered on the ground of Holy Scripture	28
IV. The admixture of evil men with good within the Church considered on the ground of reason	43
V. Application of these principles	62
VI. The case of Liberius	81
VII. The case of "the Sicilian Monarchy"	92
VIII. Conclusion	96



PREFACE.

IT is not necessary to trouble the public with mention of the various reasons, which have delayed the publication of the present pamphlet to a period considerably later than I had hoped. But I may say so much as this, that had I been contented with exhibiting and commenting on the more extreme instances of misapprehension or fallacy into which my Reviewer has fallen, I might have appeared in print very soon indeed after the termination of his Notices. Nor were there wanting many inducements for so doing. I could not but be aware that the tone and superficial appearance of the criticism in the *Guardian* were such, that even friendly readers might naturally suppose me to have fallen into one or two, at least, considerable mistakes and oversights. Nothing indeed would prevent such an impression, except that careful comparison of the comment with the text, which cannot be expected from any but the author himself. But I really think that any one who may now think it worth while to examine the said Notices in connexion with this publication, will agree with me, that there has been displayed on the opposite side a hastiness and inaccuracy of cita-

tion, a looseness of argument, and a total absence of all pains (that I may speak within the mark) fairly to represent my reasoning, which could not have been anticipated from a writer so able and vigorous, and apparently so sincere.

It appeared to me however better on the whole, rather to bear with temporary misapprehension, than to be too precipitate in my reply. The line of argument on which my opponent lays his chief stress, is one which, in one shape or other, I believe to have considerable weight with great numbers of his party; while it has not, so far as I am aware, been handled expressly and distinctly at any length by our controversialists. I thought it better therefore, to treat the subject once for all, as completely as I was able.

The Six Notices, to which the following pages refer, will be seen in the *Guardian* of Jan. 15, Jan. 22, Jan. 29, Feb. 12, Feb. 19, and March 5, for the present year. There will not be found, I believe, a single argument of my opponent's in any way bearing on the subject, nor a single reply of his to any of mine, which will not be here distinctly noticed. Nor have I been able to make a single retractation; except indeed of one or two mere expressions, or incidental arguments of the most subordinate importance.

This detailed reference to each individual argument, will, I trust, be of use to such as may really care to look into the merits of the controversy. At the same time, no one can be more sensible than myself of the inconvenience resulting from it, in the comparatively dry and uninteresting character, which is necessarily imparted by such a style of composition. I have done my best to lessen this inconvenience, by interweaving my replies,

wherever it was possible, in a methodical course of reasoning; and where that was not possible, relegating such replies to foot-notes.

The title prefixed sufficiently expresses the question, on which this reasoning has been brought to converge. I have only had one misgiving as to its adoption; my fear, namely, lest it lead my readers to imagine me to concede what I do *not* concede;—to concede that the superiority of the Catholic Church over the Anglican Establishment is less signal in her promotion of holiness, than in her maintenance of doctrinal orthodoxy. I would most earnestly draw the reader's attention to my remarks on this head, from p. 68 to p. 73.

So much for the title: in the arrangement also, there is a particular which calls for explanation. I have considered the general question by the light of Antiquity, before I have brought out my Scriptural proof; an order of things both contrary to the general practice of Catholic theologians, and also which, if unexplained, might appear deficient in due reverence for the Inspired Word. It really originated however, *from* that reverence itself; and from my fear lest, if I joined issue at once with my opponent on his Scriptural quotations, I might be understood as admitting the relevancy and propriety of his *mode* of appeal to them. I could not in any other way so well express my deep disapprobation of such his mode of appeal, as by first exhibiting the Ecclesiastical Tradition on the question in hand.

I must take advantage of this opportunity, for want of a better, to comment on another matter connected with my former Letter; and to express my great surprise at the silence of the *Christian Remembrancer* on

certain matters contained in it. I am not alluding, of course, to my various allegations of theological and argumentative inaccuracy against that Review; every periodical has the full right to determine for itself on the time of noticing an antagonist, or whether it shall notice him at all. But all honest men will agree with me, that where a question of *misrepresentation* is concerned, however unintentional such misrepresentation may have in the first instance been, the case is widely different.

Now, in my former Letter (p. 47, note,) I drew attention to a statement in the *Christian Remembrancer* that Father Newman's account "of the origin of the existing dogmatic Christianity" is "substantially identical" with that of a Mr. Ierson; who considers our Lord to have been "a mere preacher of natural religion," averse to dogmas of all sorts. This imputation was grounded on a single passage in Father Newman's recent Lectures. Altogether denying that his words could fairly bear such an interpretation, I drew attention however to another passage in the same Lectures; on which I observed, that "if Father Newman had been aware of Mr. Ierson's statement, and wished to express distinctly the precise *contradictory* to it, I see not how he could have used more explicit language." I then proceeded to say: "As several readers of the *Christian Remembrancer* may not have looked through Father Newman's Lectures, I cannot doubt that the Editor's sense of justice will lead him to insert this passage, when his attention is drawn to it; in order that his readers may judge for themselves how far he has truly represented Father Newman's doctrine." As soon as my pamphlet was published, I forwarded it to the Editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*; and I added

a private note, expressly drawing his attention to this comment of mine, and to no other part of the whole pamphlet. Two numbers of his periodical have since appeared, and not the slightest notice has been taken of my communication.

Now, here is an imputation brought against no ordinary person, of as “unspeakably disparaging” a nature (to use my former phrase,) as can well be conceived; it would be more true to say, of as “grossly calumnious:” though I was unwilling to use the word “*calumny*,” in the then position of circumstances. The Editor, on being expressly applied to, will not so much as allow his readers (if he can help it) to *see* a passage of the same writer’s, which has been alleged as in itself a sufficient refutation of such calumny. If such controversial tactics *are* to exist, may they ever continue in the undisputed possession of our opponents!

As soon as the present pamphlet is out, I shall also forward a copy of *it* to the Editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*; and shall again add a private note, drawing his attention to this Preface.

On looking over the sheets, I find that in p. 30 I have omitted reference to one of the *Guardian’s* replies. I had said that “the Corinthians, who were endued with spiritual gifts, not unanalogous with the sort of gift enjoyed by a ruler of the Church as such, are represented distinctly as displaying worldliness and the love of display in the use of those very gifts; which yet were not, on that account, taken from them.” The *Guardian* replies, that they were probably not ecclesiastical rulers; but it will be seen that I never said they were: their gifts however were what we call “*gratiæ gratis datæ*,” and “*not unanalogous*” therefore, as I

said, "with the sort of gift enjoyed by a ruler of the Church, as such." The *Guardian* further replies that these were only "venial errors;" which certainly has force. For this reason, I wish to retract my citation of this passage; and had intended to say so in a note.

I have further to remark that, in p. 32, and I think elsewhere, I have cited an extract from the Fourth Notice, as being applied by my opponent to a statement of mine in pp. 95, 96 of my former Letter. On reading his words again, I am not sure whether he is not rather meaning to refer to a passage in pp. 85-87 of said Letter. If so (it is far from clear *which* is meant), I must withdraw my argument *ad hominem*, in p. 32.

May 20, 1851.

TO

THE EDITOR OF THE "GUARDIAN."

SIR,

No one who has read your Notices of my last Letter will, I believe, consider me unduly sensitive in wishing to reply to them; to abstain from reply, might appear like admitting against myself the charge of great recklessness of statement, to say the least, on subjects of the utmost importance. At the same time, since you have expressed a wish to have done with the discussion at the earliest possible moment, as being one unsuited to your columns; and since, for my own part, I cannot but admit that to exhaust a personal controversy (as one may say) to its very dregs, is seldom a course productive of much advantage to the cause of truth; I shall endeavour, as much as possible, to avoid the introduction of all new matter, and confine myself to the necessary task, of vindicating the respective assaults which I have made upon your various arguments, and of defending my own position against your whole attack.

On one particular, however, I am compelled to depart from my general plan; and to produce a line of argument and quotation, which I had thought unnecessary. I never imagined certainly, that you would have called in question the undeviating and undoubting peremptoriness, wherewith the Fathers, as by one voice, proclaimed the principle, that professed heretics are external to the Church. I took this fact for granted, as one written so legibly and unmistakeably on the very surface of Church History, that no one had ever dreamt of denying it; and as a fact, moreover, to which your own friends had even been forward in drawing attention. Your review has shewn me my

mistake; and has compelled me to express, distinctly and in shape, principles, which I had regarded as too obvious and elementary to require such statement.

In commenting (Fifth Notice) on a passage which I had quoted from St. Augustine, you speak of one consideration as "sufficient to dispose of" that passage; the consideration, namely, that St. Augustine considers the exclusion of a *merely mental* heretic from the Church, to be an "invisible operation, entirely independent of any external act of ecclesiastical discipline." So strangely are you unacquainted with the tenets professed by Catholics. For this very opinion, which you regard as so obviously and confessedly false, as to be sufficient in itself to invalidate the authority of a passage which asserts it, is, on the contrary, held by many of our most eminent theologians; while, as to a *professed* heretic, there is no single Catholic writer who holds any other. There is *no* Catholic writer, I say, who dreams even of calling in question this doctrine, that a professed heretic, as such, antecedently to, and independently of, any ecclesiastical censure, is *jure divino* external to the Church. That this, as it is the principle of the Catholic Church now, so has been her plain and undeviating principle from the Apostles downward, I had thought too obvious to require even illustration. The fact however, it seems, is otherwise; and I must therefore proceed to make some selection at least, from the vast body of proof on which this statement rests.

To begin with Apostolic times; on which a very few words will, I suppose, suffice. For, to say that a person might be a member of the *Apostolic* Church, and at the same time not profess belief in the Apostles' divine commission to teach,—this is an assertion, not so much false, as simply *unmeaning* and self-contradictory. Accordingly our blessed Saviour, in speaking of the future Church, speaks of "those who through *their* (the Apostles') *word* will *believe* in Me;" and early in the Acts the Church has already acquired the name which she is to retain until His second coming, the "*multitude of believers*" (Acts iv. 32), ("*multitudo credentium*;" in later times, "*cœtus fidelium*"). It is, of course, quite consistent with such general acknowledgment of belief, that there may have been in some cases extreme intellectual obstinacy and perverseness, *e. g.* in refusing to admit

the equality of one Apostle with the rest, or in choosing not to see that such or such doctrine has been really *taught* by the Apostles;* nay that there may have been, on the part of some, much dishonesty, in claiming an Apostle's sanction for what they knew was *contrary* to his teaching. Much more is it consistent even with the sincerest belief in the Apostles' divine mission, that many may have been deplorably ignorant of some among the most elementary doctrines, with which (as I observed in my last Letter) these holy men were but slowly and gradually leavening the collective mind of the Church. But to suppose that a person could go further than this, and plainly express himself as disbelieving the Apostles' infallible authority, in what they set forth as the doctrine they were commissioned to teach;—that a person could be known to profess this, and yet be reckoned as a member of the Christian Church until excommunicated;—this is a statement, which it is only necessary to place in the concrete before our imagination, in order that we may see its simple absurdity.

On Apostolic times, then, it cannot be necessary to add another word. That in those early days, the governors of the Church were united in their judgment as to what was, and what was not, part of the Christian Faith; and that any who should dream of questioning such their concordant decision, would be, by the very force of the terms, external to the Church;—this is a fact, which no one can doubt, who believes in the divine origin of Christianity at all. And if it be admitted, as I argued at some length in my former Letter, that in respect of the Rule of Faith, the subsequent Church was simply a continuation of the Apostolic;—that the Gospel message, after the death of St. John, no less than at the Day of Pentecost, was simply to hear the voice of the living infallible Church;—then my statement is as self-evident in regard to post-Apostolic times, as in regard to Apostolic. But in arguing with you, sir, of course I am *not* entitled to take this position for granted: rather the facts which I am about to adduce, will afford additional strength to my proof of the position itself; if, indeed, additional proof be possible in

* Of these Heretics of Apostolic times, more particular mention will be made further on.

behalf of a conclusion, which appears to me already as transparently evident as any historical conclusion can possibly be.

I affirm, then, that from the very earliest times it has been a first principle, a theological axiom, with the Christian Fathers, that a professed heretic is *ipso facto* external to the Church. It is impossible, I should have thought, for any one ever so moderately versed in their writings, to have been blind to this; nor did I ever hear of one who had deeply studied them, whose conviction of the same fact was not deep and undoubting in proportion to such study. So obvious indeed do I consider this to be, that my reason (as I have already said) for not insisting on it, was the very same, for which, in the patristic writings, it is far oftener assumed and taken for granted, than expressly stated; namely, that it never even occurred to me that you could dream of denying it. My only difficulty is, out of the multitude of proof which throngs on the mind, to select the most forcible and pregnant, in order that unnecessary length may be avoided.

I am not, of course, endeavouring to lay down the principle, on which the Fathers would pronounce this or that doctrine to be heresy. Nor again am I determining the question, for instance, how great a proof of *obstinacy* they would require, before dealing with an individual *as* a heretic. Nor yet am I in any way opposing myself to Father Perrone's assertion, (which indeed is evident enough on the very surface of History,) that while many tenets on their first promulgation are perceived to be heretical, many others, on the contrary, are not so regarded before the Church has condemned them.* I am merely saying, that from the moment (whenever it is) that this or that person is regarded as a professed heretic, from that precise moment, and as a part of the same judgment not separable in idea from the former, he is regarded as external to the Church.

The first illustration I may bring forward, to bring home to your mind how deeply-seated and pervasive a principle of the Church this has ever been, will be the very meaning of the word 'Catholic.' Your own theologian Bull (if authority be wanting on so plain a matter,) states, that this term began to be in uni-

* Perrone *de locis theologis*, sec. 339.

versal use from the time of St. Polycarp.* Now what is meant in ecclesiastical and primitive language by the word ‘Catholic?’ It means two things; an orthodox believer, and a member of the Catholic Church: therefore these two things are co-extensive. Take it another way. Will you maintain yourself, that any early Christian could have spoken of an *heretical Catholic*? Are not the two mutually contradictory? On the other hand, every member of the Catholic Church was a Catholic: this, again, you will not deny. But if every member of the Catholic Church was a Catholic; and no heretic was a Catholic; no heretic was a member of the Catholic Church. (*Camestres.*) Q.E.D. This is one of those many obvious marks, which prove the identity of the Catholic Church in every age. Members of your party are compelled to speak of “Catholic-minded” members of your Establishment, as opposed to “heretically-minded;” or sometimes, more boldly, to speak of those who agree with you as *Catholics*, in contradistinction to those who do not; or occasionally even to make mention of the Catholic *party* in your body. But to call Dr. Hampden *e. g.* a Catholic, though he is a most undeniable member of your communion, is what your boldest champions have not ventured to do. Can any thing be in more preposterous opposition to the whole current of Antiquity, than the idea that a branch of the Catholic Church can possess members, who are not Catholics?

Secondly, let me, following Bellarmine, allude to the habitual expression, in the early Fathers, of “coming from any heresy into the Church,” as shewing how completely, as a matter of course, Church membership was considered as a state *inconsistent* with open heresy. In the controversy on heretical Baptism, for instance, St. Stephen’s well-known judgment runs, “if any one come to us from *whatever heresy, &c.*” Indeed I suppose it is hardly too much to say, that one cannot open a single treatise of any length, written by any one among the Fathers, without seeing some such opposition expressed between the Church and heresy. The Church on the one side; schism and heresy on the other side, as her two great and avowed enemies;

* *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, cap. vi. s. 14.

such is the picture presented, in every detail which has come down to us of primitive times: schism, whereby the individual *separates himself*,—heresy, whereby he becomes *jure divino separate*,—from the visible Body of Christ.

Thirdly, the same truth is irresistibly impressed on us, the more we read of the treatment received by individual heresiarchs, at the hands of the great Doctors of the Church; who, as a matter of course, and indeed as the very symbol of their regarding them as heretics, avoided their communion, without so much as dreaming that any formal excommunication by authority was previously necessary. This fact is brought out most sharply of course, in those instances where heretics were at once perceived to be such, previously to the Church's judgment; because, in the contrary case, the same authority which condemned the heresy, proceeded at once to excommunicate its continued upholders. And yet even this latter class of cases has great force in the present argument, from the matter-of-course way in which the sentence of excommunication accompanies the judgment of heresy; not as being a further matter of deliberation, but as the natural and direct consequence of the former step.* But let me speak of one or two instances from the other class of cases; which are to be considered however merely in the light of *samples*, which might be almost indefinitely multiplied, of a large whole.

I begin with Paul of Samosata; and with the Synodical Letter of the Second Council of Antioch, which deposed him from his bishopric. This letter first mentions, that the Bishops of the Council had begged St. Dionysius of Alexandria to be present with them; and that he, in return, addressed a letter to Antioch: but that as to Paul, "the originator of error," St. Dionysius "did not think him worthy of so much as a salutation, nor of being personally addressed." This, you observe, was prior to any excommunication or deposition. The Council presently proceeds, in reference to Paul's wicked life: "But since, *departing from the rule of faith*, he has moved over to spurious and adulterate doctrine, of him [thus] *external [to the Church]* there is no need

* To prevent misconception, it should be mentioned, that our theologians regard a sentence of excommunication as inflicting many spiritual penalties on the offender, over and above the mere fact of his being external to the Church.

to examine the *actions*." Having proceeded however to enlarge on his vices, the Bishops proceed :

" But for these things, as we said before, any one might call in question a man who had a Catholic spirit, and *was numbered with ourselves*; but this man, who has *renounced the mystery* [of the faith], and has *fallen into the foul heresy* of Artemas . . . of him we consider it is not necessary to ask account of these things . . . Paul, therefore, *having fallen from his bishopric at the same time with* [his fall from] *his orthodoxy of faith*, Domnus has received the administration of the Church in Antioch," &c.*

And this contrast between heresy and immorality, you will observe, is expressed at the very time, when the penitential discipline of the Church existed in its fullest rigour.

As a second example, we may take the language used in regard to Arius, before the Nicene Council was held, or any thing else, which professed to be a solemn judgment binding on the whole Church. Look at the Encyclical Letter, for instance, of St. Alexander, then Patriarch of Alexandria; from which I will quote one or two passages, as indications of the general spirit. He speaks at starting of Arius and his followers, as men "*qui ab Ecclesiâ desciverant*," "*qui ab Ecclesiâ defecerunt*," "*defecerunt a Christo*;" all of them phrases which plainly express, that he regarded them as having *by their own act* left the Church. But their own act was only the profession of heresy; their separation from visible communion with the Alexandrian Church, took place very much against their will: their heresy itself, then, is characterised by the Saint, as a departure from the Church. Presently he proceeds :

"To Arius, therefore, and his favourers who assert these things, together with those who assent to his opinion, we, with nearly a hundred Bishops of Egypt and Libya, coming together, have denounced anathema. But Eusebius admits them to his communion (*ad se admittit*), and sedulously labours to mix together *falsehood with truth*, and impiety with piety. But he has not strength sufficient to do this; for *truth prevails*, and *there is no fellowship for light with darkness, no agreement of Christ with Belial*. For who ever heard such doctrines? or who is there who, if he did hear them, would not be stupified with horror?" &c.

* This is translated from the Greek of Eusebius.

What can possibly be plainer here, than that the Saint's ardent invectives against Eusebius are grounded, not on the censure against Arius passed by the hundred African Bishops, but on the intrinsic unlawfulness of ecclesiastical communion with heretics? And this is even more expressly stated in the sequel; for having enlarged on the odious falsehood of their doctrine, he concludes: "We, therefore, since we heard their impiety with our own ears, not without reason have denounced anathema to men of that class, and have publicly declared them external to (*alienos à*) *the Catholic Church and faith.*" You see, these two ideas, the Catholic Church and the Catholic faith, are so indissolubly connected in his mind, that he who is external to the one, is regarded by him as being, *ipso facto*, external to the other also.

I will take my third and last instance from the Nestorian heresy; and from two documents connected with that heresy, to which Bellarmine alludes, with a purpose somewhat similar to my own. These documents are Pope St. Celestine's respective letters, to the clergy and people of Constantinople, and to John Bishop of Antioch. In the first of these letters, the holy Pope pronounces as follows:

"The authority of our See has expressly defined, that no one, whether bishop, or cleric, or private Christian, who has been deprived either of place or communion by Nestorius or others like him, *since they began to preach such things,*" are really so deprived: "for *he could neither depose nor remove any one, who himself, in preaching such things, left his position of safety.*"

And in like manner, in the other letter:

"But if any one has been either excommunicated or deprived of his dignity by Nestorius and his followers, *since they began to preach such things,* it is clear that he both has remained, and does remain, in our communion, nor do we judge him to have been removed; for *the sentence of him who had become a fit object himself for removal, could not remove any one else.*"

In other words, from the moment he began to profess heresy, and previously to any sentence of deposition, his episcopal jurisdiction was lost.

Fourthly, I will cite various passages, taken almost at random from Waterworth's citations on the Unity of the Church, as expressing in every different shape the deep conviction unanimously held by the Fathers, of this elementary truth; the truth that the Church consists only of orthodox believers. These I will preface, by a short extract from the 10th chapter of Ballerini's well-known work, *De vi ac ratione Primatús*; which, I cannot but think, will commend itself to all fair minds, as a true account of the principles professed by the early Fathers: whatever further conclusions they may or may not think deducible from this fact. His patristic citations also are to be considered as part of my case.

"The external and visible Church," he says, "is that, in which all Christians, both bad and good, are united by the bond of love and of communion, *into the same fellowship of faith*. Its Unity, therefore, so far as it closely concerns the whole body of the Church and each individual member, depends chiefly on two particulars: on *faith*, which is one in all; and on love, in the bond of which all are united together.*

"But the Church is *chiefly* one, in regard to her *faith*; inasmuch as all Christians profess one and the same faith. '*Faith*,' says St. Ambrose (*Lib. de Incarn. c. 5.*) '*is the foundation of the Church*;' but *the foundation of one building must be one*. By this Unity of faith the Fathers recognised the Church. Tertullian, in his work *De Præscriptionibus*, called all the churches diffused over all the world, *one*, 'because all *holding the same faith, all prove the one Unity*.' In like manner Theodoret: 'All the churches in common are bound together in one, *because of their agreement in the ancient doctrines*;' and the ancient author of the commentary on the 23d Psalm: 'The Church is made up of many persons, but is called one, *because of the Unity of its faith*.' Euthemius: 'If you look at their abodes, the churches are many; if you look at their religion and communion of faith, all the churches every where make up *one Church of be-*

* "By love here is meant," adds the author, "not the love wherewith as men we are bound to love each other;" nor again, I may add, Christian charity, for he has already spoken of both bad and good Christians as being in the Church; "but that special grace, whereby Christians adhere to pastors and bishops, who are divided by no schism or variety of doctrine."

lievers.' Athanasius Sinaita: 'Let the waters be gathered together, which, from diverse peoples and nations and sects, *are gathered under the Unity of faith.*' But to preserve this Unity of faith, Unity of communion is requisite also, &c."

So far Ballerini and his authorities. Now for Mr. Waterworth, in whose first volume are the following citations.

St. Ignatius Martyr: "Do ye then . . . flee division and *corrupt doctrines* . . . for there be *many wolves*, but *in your Unity they shall have no place*" (p. 124).

St. Irenæus: "*The whole Church has one and the same faith throughout the whole world.*"

"Neither do the churches founded in Germany, nor those in Spain, in Gaul, &c. *believe or deliver a different faith*" (p. 126).

"Those who are *out of the truth, that is, out of the Church*" (p. 129).

St. Hegesippus: "From these [heretics] sprang false Christs, false prophets, false apostles, who *severed the unity of the Church with counterfeit teaching* against God and His Christ" (p. 130).

St. Clement of Alexandria: "The ancient and Catholic Church is alone, *collecting through one Lord into the unity of the one faith*" (p. 131).

Tertullian: "We and they (East and West) have *one faith*, one God, the same Christ, the same hope, the same sacrament of Baptism; *to say all at once, we are one Church*" (p. 133).

-Origen: "The whole Church of God is Christ's body, animated by the Son of God; and *all they who are believers are members of that same body, as of a whole.*"

St. Cyprian, quoting the words of others: "For though we appeared to hold as it were some sort of communion with a schismatic and a *heretic*, yet our mind was always sincerely *in the Church*" (p. 138).

St. Hilary: "All heretics then advance against the Church; but . . . their victory over each other, is *the Church's triumph over all*; since heresy combats in some other heresy, just so far as that which *the faith of the Church* condemns in that other heresy . . . they assert *our faith* while opposing each other" (p. 155).

St. Optatus: "You, Parmenianus, *have said that the Church is one, to the exclusion of heretics*; but you have not chosen to acknowledge where that Church is . . . *it is for me to state which or where is that one Church*" (p. 158).

Lucifer of Cagliari: "Whether Jews, or heathens, or *you heretics that are without the Church*, ye are without God, as once were all who

were not in holy Noah's ark. For as they, being *out of the ark*, could not be saved, *so neither can you*; but, like them, ye will perish, unless, *believing in the only Son of God, ye be found remaining together with us in the holy Church*" (p. 163).

I may refer also, among other Catholic authorities, to the chapter on heresy, in Klee's work on the *History of Christian Doctrines*. His whole series of quotations from the Fathers, as to the point of view in which they regarded heretics, will bring, if possible, additional conviction to the mind on the matter before us. As directly to the point, I will take St. Clement of Alexandria, who says—(I quote from the French translation of Klee, p. 167):—

“Whereas there are three conditions of the mind—ignorance, opinion, knowledge: they who are in *ignorance* are *the Gentiles*; they who are in *knowledge* are *the true Church*; they who are in *opinion* are *the heretics* (οἱ κατὰ τὰς αἰρέσεις).”

Where, you see, he both contradistinguishes heretics from the Church, and says of the latter that *all* her members have true knowledge.

My fifth and last head shall be from the admission of opponents. Thus, Jurieu is quoted by Billuart as having admitted that the Fathers were directly opposed to his own tenets on faith and the Church; for that “the Fathers and all the faithful of the first centuries understood under the name of the Catholic Church, only that one communion, from which all heretics, at least all professed heretics, were excluded.” I have no means of verifying this citation; and I give it, therefore, on Billuart's authority.*

My remaining authorities under this head will be such, as have a special weight *ad hominem*, against one, sir, of your sentiments. And first I will take Bull's little work, called *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, &c.*; the argument of which naturally leads him over the ground we are now upon, and the whole spirit

* Billuart *de Regulis Fidei* Diss. iii. art. 2. sec. 4. I should add however, that, since writing the above, I have happened to see the work of a Catholic opponent of Jurieu's; and I cannot help doubting whether Billuart has truly represented the latter.

of which, from first to last, is eminently corroborative of what I have been saying. Individual passages will indeed give but an inadequate impression of the degree in which this is the case; yet several of them will sufficiently bear out my assertion. Thus, in chap. 2, towards the end of sec. 9, the author speaks of those “who denied the divinity of Christ our Lord, and who, on that account, were held by the Apostles in the light of *heretics*, and therefore of *antichrists*, so far were they from being judged brethren and *real members of the Church*.” Again, in the 6th chapter, 14th section, Bull observes, “*Rightly*, therefore, Valesius says: ‘. . . in order that the *true and genuine Church of Christ* might be distinguished from the polluted (*adulterinis*) assemblies of *heretics*, the name of Catholic Church was given to the Church of *orthodox men* alone (*soli orthodoxorum Ecclesiæ*).’” And earlier, in the 3d section of the 3d chapter, Bull himself calls the Church “*cœtus fidelium*.” Again, in the appendix to the 7th chapter, section 5, he tells us that St. Justin counted certain men “among impious heretics, with whom neither he nor the Catholic Church had any communion.” Once more: in the 8th section of the 2d chapter he thus paraphrases a passage of St. Ignatius Martyr: “Those who say that our Lord was made man only in appearance, are Christians only in appearance.” And in the 3d section of the same chapter he points out “how estranged from the Church of Christ (*quam alieni ab Ecclesiâ Christi*) those were esteemed who taught” the doctrine of Cerinthus and Ebion. Nothing however, as I began with saying, will give you so vivid an idea of the degree in which Bull’s whole mind is penetrated with this view of the Church, as reading through the whole of this little volume.

In the same connexion, let me adduce a passage from a pamphlet of Mr. Gladstone’s, which I quoted in an earlier part of my last Letter; and which I should assuredly have quoted again in its bearing on my present position, had I imagined you dreamt of denying it.

“A certain body of revealed truth,” says Mr. Gladstone, “has been given by God to man, and defined in an intelligible manner for his use, which it is not only the specific office, but the divine commission, of the Church to teach. Now, if these things be true, then to propose that

the faith and its opposite in any particular article shall be placed on equal terms, within the precinct and by the law of the Church, is simply to demand that *she shall betray her office*. It is precisely (however startling the comparison may appear) what it would be relatively to the marriage state, to enact that fidelity might be maintained in it, but that adultery might also be practised in it at the option of the parties. It is a process to which, if the early Church would have submitted, she need never have seen her children mangled in the jaws of lions, or writhing on the stake or in the flame. But then it is also a process *which would have turned the dwelling-place of the living God into a Pantheon*. It is, therefore, that which simply could not be; because it is contrary to the words, which His hand had graven upon the rock with a pen of iron: The gates of hell, &c."—*Gladstone on the Supremacy*, pp. 77, 78.

And finally, the document put forth by the leading members of your party on the Gorham case, speaks trumpet-tongued against such a notion as yours.

“Resolution 4. That to admit the lawfulness” — the lawfulness, that is of course (as the context shews,) according to *the Church’s* law, or consistently with Church communion—“of holding an exposition of an article of the Creed contradictory to the essential meaning of that article, is, in truth and in fact, to abandon that article.

“Resolutions 6 and 7. That any portion of the Church which *does* so abandon the essential meaning of an article in the Creed forfeits . . . the office and authority to witness and to teach as a member of the universal Church, and *becomes formally separated from the Catholic body.*”

Such are some of the propositions, most solemnly and deliberately enunciated by men of no less name among you, than Archdeacons Manning, Wilberforce, and Thorp; Rev. Drs. Mill and Pusey; Rev. Messrs. Keble and Bennett; Messrs. Cavendish, Badeley, James Hope, and Talbot.* How do they stand in comparison with yours?

II. This truth then, of the intrinsic opposition, according to all primitive tenets, between heresy and Church-membership, being both so legibly and unmistakably written on the very surface of Scripture and Church History, and also so distinctly

* Since writing the above, the joyful news has arrived, which prevents me from using *two* of the above names in argument against you.

recognised by your own authorities,—no fair person can be surprised at its never having occurred to my mind that you dreamed of calling it in question; unless, indeed, your own language to that effect had been very direct and precise. But so far from this being the case, your language strongly *confirmed* my natural impression, that whatever else you might call in question, you at least admitted this plain historical fact. In reply to my observation, that “the prevalence of immorality within the Church* is a totally different phenomenon from the prevalence of heresy within her, in its bearing on the notes of her divinity,” you maintained as follows :

“We confess ourselves unable to see . . . any indication that the practice and enforcement of holiness are merely commanded, while truth and distinctness of doctrine alone are made conditions of Christian privileges and tests of a true Church. All are commanded—*all are promised—all are conditions of receiving God's blessings*; in all alike the history of the Church compels us to acknowledge, how far the *gracious intentions* of the Almighty *have been frustrated* by the perverseness of man; how much His long-suffering has abated from the awfulness of His threatenings.”—*Anglo-Romanism*, No. V.

Now I suppose any one would have inferred from this, just what I inferred; viz. that you did not deny the fact of doctrinal purity and orthodoxy having been “promised to the Church,” and having been an essential “condition of receiving” those “blessings of God” which were covenanted to that Church;—that your reply, I say, did not turn on *denying* the obligation of *orthodoxy*, but on *affirming* the *equal* obligation of “the practice and enforcement of holiness.” Any one, in fact, would have understood you to mean: “Granted that, according to the letter of the Gospel promises, the Anglican Church is not divine; yet, according to the same letter, the ‘Roman’ Church is not divine either: for morality is no less obligatory than faith; and the former Church has not transgressed more against faith, than the latter has against morality. Either, therefore, the Catholic Church has failed altogether, or the same reasoning which exempts from this sentence you (who are Roman) exempts also us

* I used the word ‘Church’ here, as the context shews, abstracting from “true” or “false” Church.

(who are Anglican). And for my own part, I (the Editor of the *Guardian*) embrace the latter alternative, and consider that the Catholic Church has *not* failed. Not that I can hope to prove this by any reference to the original Gospel Covenant, but because I consider that ‘God’s long-suffering has’ greatly ‘abated from the awfulness of His threatenings.’”

Such was the construction I put on your defence, and which, as I believe, any man in the world of sound mind *would* have put upon it. Accordingly, in order to meet this defence, first of all (as I mentioned in my Preface), “I greatly enlarged the sixth section of my Letter,” and wrote much of the seventh; with the view of shewing, as a matter of principle, the essential difference between those two things which you wished to confound, in their bearing on the Church’s office. And, in the second place, I adduced quotations from Scripture and the Fathers to shew, as I thought in opposition to you, that the admixture of evil men with good in the Church was recognised from the first; and was therefore no transgression whatever of the original Gospel Covenant.

In regard to this last part of my undertaking, then, conceive my astonishment, when I find you dismissing as “*palpably* irrelevant all those passages which merely shew that the Church does not forfeit her character by the toleration of bad men.” (Fifth Notice.) Why, if words have any meaning, and implications any force, it was your distinct argument, that the toleration of bad men on a large scale by the Church, was inconsistent with that “practice and enforcement of holiness” which is “promised” to the Church, and which is “a condition of receiving God’s blessings;” and that in allowing the Catholic Church to remain at all gifted with His presence after such dereliction of duty, God’s “long-suffering has” greatly “abated from the awfulness of His threatenings.”

I will now turn from the mere personal argument, to the merits of the question. I entreat the reader to look back on the evidence I have adduced, as to the relation which existed in early times between *heretics* and the Church; and then to contrast with it the language I brought together in my last Letter, from some few of the Fathers, on the admixture of *evil men* with

good in her bosom. Origen says, that there are *always* in the Church, not vessels of mercy only, but *vessels of wrath*; that God's treasure [*i. e.* good men] is not brought to light until *the time of judgment*; that in her, as in Noah's ark, there is a multitude of wild beasts, "whose wild savageness the sweetness of faith has not been able to tame." St. Pacian says, that the Church is a closed garden, *full of all herbs, vile and precious*. Theodoret, that the Church contains those "*who have embraced a dissolute life*." St. Cyprian, that among great numbers of Catholics "persons in high places were swollen with contemptuousness, poisoned reproaches fell from their mouths, and men *were surrendered by unabating quarrels*; ties of marriage were formed with unbelievers; *not only rash swearing was heard but false*; numerous bishops hunted the markets for mercantile profits, and *took possession of estates by fraudulent proceedings*." Lastly, St. Augustine, that within the Church "the good are but *few* in comparison with the bad;" and that "evil men *generally*, when known, are endured" within the Church "for the sake of the peace of unity." I alluded further to testimonies from St. Chrysostom and Salvian to the same effect: but it is unnecessary to say more on them, because in your reply you fully admit, as we shall presently see, that the practice of the Church, from the time of Constantine downward, was that of which you disapprove.

Before going further however, I must answer such objections as you take to certain of these citations. On those from Origen and Theodoret you make no comment, beyond the strange one above alluded to, that they are "palpably irrelevant." The former citation, even on your own shewing, you have no right to call irrelevant; for Origen *does* draw the very contrast between belief and practice which is at issue between us. "In the Church," he says, "*though all are contained within one faith . . . yet [there is a] multitude of*" savage "beasts."

Your treatment of St. Cyprian's passage is very remarkable. You draw attention to the holy Bishop's expression, that the ministers "were wanting *in entireness of faith*;" and you say that this "negatives the very contrast between belief and practice which it is adduced to establish:" in fact, you gravely maintain that St. Cyprian accuses these ministers of actual heresy. And

this, though the words immediately preceding must have been actually before you as you wrote: "forgetting," says the Saint, "both what was the conduct of *believers* under the Apostles, and what *ought to be their conduct* in every age, they" act in such and such a way; "the priests wanting in religious devotedness, the ministers in entireness of faith." Whatever then is meant by this last phrase, nothing in the world can be more transparently evident, than that it is a fault imputed by the Saint to *believers*.

If faith *is* to be taken here in the sense of belief, I need hardly say that men may be "wanting in *entireness* of faith" who are far short of actual heresy. Thus, in my first Letter to you, I speak of certain "unhappy circumstances," fully consistent however, as I there maintain, with the Catholicity of a Church, under which "we find a deep-seated heretical spirit gaining ground among the people, which may any day break out into express and open heresy" (pp. 6, 7). The people under these circumstances are certainly "wanting in entireness of faith." But if I may venture to express an opinion, grounded on my limited acquaintance with St. Cyprian's writings, I incline to think that the word "*faith*" here does not mean simple *belief* at all, but *realisation of things believed*. This is certainly a sense in which St. Cyprian frequently uses it; and I will subjoin one instance of his doing so,—it occurs at the end of his treatise on the Lapsed.

"It is thus," he says, "that *the vigour of our faith has waxed faint*, and the strength of the *believers* languished; and hence the Lord, looking to our times, says in His Gospel, 'When the Son of man cometh, shall He find *faith* on the earth?' *We see come to pass that which He foretold. In the fear of God, in the law of righteousness, in love, in good works, our faith is naught.* No man, from fear of things to come, gives heed to the day of the Lord and the anger of God; none *considers* the punishments which will come on the unbelieving, and the eternal torments appointed to the faithless. What our conscience would fear if it *believed*, that, because nowise *believing*, it fears not: if it believed, it would take heed; if it took heed, it would escape. *Let us awaken ourselves*, dearest brethren, what we can, and *breaking off the slumber of our old slothfulness*, let us be watching for the observance and fulfilment of the Lord's commands. . . . Let us ever, in anxiety and cau-

tiousness, be awaiting the sudden advent of the Lord, that, when He knocketh, *our faith* may be on the watch, and gain from the Lord the reward of its watchfulness.”—*Oxford Trans.* p. 149.

I think few will doubt, that this passage gives the best of all comments on the same writer’s sentiment, that “the ministers are wanting in entireness of faith.” That this phrase at all events does not imply heresy, is literally undeniable; as I pointed out above. And I may add, that I cannot conceive any one reading through the Oxford volume of St. Cyprian’s works, without being struck with the fact, how deeply and undoubtingly it was received by the Saint, as a first principle, that heretics are essentially and necessarily external to the Church.

As to St. Augustine, since you call in question the fact of *his* regarding heretics as external to the Church; and since, from the reason above mentioned, I never thought of adducing evidence to *this* point; I had better at once supply the omission.

To do this, nothing more is necessary than to consult the index of that Father’s works. We find there as follows: *Hæretici “non sunt in Ecclesiâ,” “ad Ecclesiam non pertinent,” “extra Ecclesiam sunt,” “unde Catholicâ communionem exclusi?” “aliquando boni sub hæresis aut schismatis nomine ab Ecclesiâ expelluntur,”* (the old opposition between the Church on the one hand, and heresy and schism on the other,) “*apud hæreticos nomine tenus non revera est Christus,” “hæresis Ecclesiâ posterior,” “hæreses omnes de Ecclesiâ exierunt,” “hæreticis objici vult Aug. quod Catholici non sint,” “hæretici omnibus modis ad Ecclesiam revocandi,” “quomodo in Ecclesiam recipiendi,” “hæreticis ad Ecclesiam redeuntibus,” &c. &c.* I have looked at all these citations, and found that the passages mean what they appear to mean.

There are undoubtedly expressions in the index, which read at first sight on the other side; but these, when referred to, literally strengthen my case. I subjoin here *every one* of them which I have observed.

“*Hæresis prima in discipulis Christi orta.*” This passage, on being referred to, is found to regard those who, having heard His discourse contained in John vi., “*separated themselves from Him.*” (In Ps. liv. 22.)

“Hæretici quomodo ad populum Dei pertineant.” The Saint is expressly speaking of those, “qui se dividunt ab unitate,” and come to be “in hæresi et in schismate;” and of these he says, “ad populum Dei pertinent, etsi non per virtutem, certe per speciem pietatis.” (In Ps. cvii. 39.)*

“Hæretici ad communionem non inquinant.” The Saint is speaking of *converted* heretics, received to Communion without any reiteration of Baptism. (De Baptismo, lib. vii. c. 7.)

“Hæretici quidam in magnâ Ecclesiæ domo:” in allusion to St. Paul’s language, 2 Tim. ii. 20; which text the Saint understands of those, whose “speech spreadeth like a canker” (v. 17). He says :

“Of whom, *although the Apostle said that they should be avoided*, yet he signifies, that they are in ‘one great House’—I suppose, because they had not *yet* departed out (foras exierunt); or if they *had* now gone out, how does he say that they are in the same House? unless, perhaps, because of the Sacraments themselves, which are not changed, *even in the separated conventicles of the heretics?*”—*De Baptismo*, lib. iii. c. 26.

This passage also, like those previously quoted, when viewed in its context, makes as distinctly on my side as the clearest of those I quoted in my own favour. First, I must observe that the phrase “hæretici quidam” is due solely to the compiler of the index, and is not used by St. Augustine. And secondly, I affirm that whoever will read through the 15th and 16th previous chapters, will not be able to entertain a shadow of doubt, that the words “foras exire” are used by the Saint, as precisely tantamount with “becoming a professed heretic;” which is my exact point. The words “hæretici et schismatici” are used almost in every chapter as synonymous with “men external to the Church;” and the following passage from c. 22, draws in terms the very contrast for which I have throughout been contending.

“Him who is in heresy or schism (in hæresi aut schismate constitutum) the prayers of the Saints will not be able to assist; as neither can

* There is one citation, “hæretici quomodo quidam in Ecclesiâ,” which I have been quite unable to discover. The passage referred to contains nothing of the sort. There is probably some misprint.

they assist him who is *within* [the Church] [*intus positum*], if, by a *most evil life*, he keep against himself the debt of his sins."

Immediately before the reference, above quoted, to 2 Tim. ii. 20, he is speaking of those who have *sympathy* with heresy, and are estranged in *spirit* from the Church, even before they openly *leave* the latter by the *profession* of the former; and he says that those referred to by St. Paul, if they *were* really in the Church, (the Apostle's "in magnâ domo"), must have been such. Not improbably however, he adds, they *had* already left the Church by such profession; and were said by the Apostles only *figuratively* to be "in magnâ domo," because "*even in the separated conventicles of heretics,*" the same Sacraments are preserved.

In reference to St. Augustine's interpretation of this text, it should be added, that in a passage of the following book (lib. iv. c. 18), not unfrequently cited in controversy, the Saint mentions that, except for his (mistaken) idea that the authority of St. Cyprian was on the other side, he should have thought that those "whose speech spreadeth like a canker" *were* external to the Church: "vellem intelligere foris fuisse, sed Cyprianus ipse non sinit." In this passage also, as in the former, precisely *because* he supposes they were not thus external, he takes for granted also that they were not professed heretics; and insists on the text merely as shewing the admixture of evil men with good within the Church. I need hardly say that I am not *defending* St. Augustine's interpretation of the text; he himself regards it as a forced one, into which he was compelled by St. Cyprian's supposed authority. But I am quite sure that no one can read the context as a whole, and deny that his meaning *is* substantially such as I have represented.*

I have now cited every one of those expressions in the index to St. Augustine's works which I could observe, that had the

* This Scriptural text, with St. Cyprian's and St. Augustine's comments, is frequently handled by our writers, from the circumstance, that this latter extract from St. Augustine is almost the only passage in the patristic writings, which can possibly be interpreted as implying the compatibility of heresy with Church membership. As to the text itself, and St. Cyprian's comment, they are most easily disposed of: see *Bellarmino de Ecclesiâ*, lib. iii. c. 4. Bellarmine also cites, from the self-same epistle of St. Cyprian, the simple words; "Novatian, because he is a heretic, is outside the Church."

primâ facie appearance of militating against the doctrine I am defending. And the result of my examination has been, that they do but corroborate those most clear statements elsewhere made by him, that “heretics are not in the Church;” “do not pertain to the Church;” “are outside the Church;” are “to be invited back into the Church;” &c. &c., which I have put down above. On the other hand, while such is his language about heretics, his language about wicked believers is as directly contradictory as can be well imagined. This (which alone I fancied to be denied by you) I proved with even a superabundance of evidence in my last Letter. I shewed that those Scriptural passages on which you principally relied, were not considered by St. Augustine as applicable *at all* to the Church Militant. I pointed out that he regarded the good men in the Church, as “*few* in comparison with the bad;” for that “*commonly*” bad men, “known to be such, were freely endured therein for the sake of the peace of unity.” I added lastly, that “I might most easily multiply examples from” this holy Father, as indeed I easily might a thousandfold; but that “none could be plainer than those I adduced” (p. 91). My readers will be anxious to see how you attempt to confront these allegations.

You leave the above passages absolutely untouched; on the ground that they do not draw in terms a *contrast* between belief and practice: and you confine yourself to the following, which does so.

“Then any one is *unfruitful*, and [nevertheless] not as yet cut off from the rest, when with evil desire he does evil works; but when, for the sake of those very works, he shall have begun [in his mind] to oppose that most evident truth whereby he is reprovèd, then he is cut off.”

On this passage you take two exceptions. First you say, that it contains no general statement that *all* heresy excludes from the Church, but only that one very aggravated kind of heresy does so (Fifth Notice): and in the following Notice, you refer back to the same passage; *thrusting* on it (as I may say) this most gratuitous interpretation. This is just a specimen of the petty cavilling on particulars, of which I have to complain all through your criticism. You take no pains to discover, how far your interpretation fairly represents the mind

of the Saint; you adduce no passage, whether from him, or from any other ancient writer, to shew that they even *dreamt* of such a distinction as you draw; you are contented with the first hypothetical explanation which offers itself, of one isolated passage; careless about harmonising it with others, or with the general principles of the writer. The extracts I have now brought together are sufficient, I suppose, to satisfy even yourself, that the Saint is *not* here making any such special distinctions as you invent for his benefit; but that he is simply applying a general principle, which he clearly, undeviatingly, habitually, acknowledged.

Your second criticism on this passage is a controversial wonder. The Saint is contrasting two things, as you admit: one, a man's doing evil actions; the other, his "*opposing in his mind that most evident truth* whereby he is reprov'd." You mention however, that St. Augustine does not in terms say "*evil actions*," but "*the works spoken of in Gal. v. 19, 20, 21*;" and you proceed to point out, that St. Paul's catalogue includes "*idolatry*" and "*heresies*," among a number of other evil works. Hence you infer, that St. Augustine had this fact distinctly in his mind when he wrote, and meant specifically to include heresy among the evil works on which he was speaking. When you are able to explain, how the contrast drawn by St. Augustine has so much as any conceivable *meaning* on this supposition;—how it is so much as logically *possible*, that a person *can* intellectually embrace heresy, *without* "*opposing in his mind the truth*" which is contradictory to that heresy;—you will have shewn, not indeed that your interpretation is reasonable or probable, but that it is not preposterous and self-contradictory.

Finally, you urge that the conclusion of St. Augustine from which you dissent is "*perhaps less forcibly proved*" than that with which you agree; and [penultimate paragraph of Fifth Notice] that his argument from Scripture *ought* to have led him to a conclusion, which however he did *not* embrace. Is it necessary to express in words the very elementary and commonplace principle, that the Fathers are cited in controversy, not for the value of their *argument* (whatever that may be), but as exponents of Tradition and of the voice of their contemporary

Church? Their *arguments* are their *own*; their *doctrines* were (more or less distinctly) prescribed by *authority*. I am not admitting however the justice of your criticism on St. Augustine's argument; I am only pointing out, how simply and undeniably any such criticism is beside the question.

In your conclusion, you speak of an "appearance of unprofitable special pleading which you have been unable to escape" in your Notices; and certainly your way of dealing with St. Cyprian's and St. Augustine's testimony is a signal instance of this. You say that this appearance on your part, is owing to the existence on mine of "sophistical ambiguities, irrelevancies, and evasions." How far this is so, and how far that "appearance of unprofitable special pleading," to which you plead guilty, is *only* "appearance," I must leave our readers to decide.

On your general account however of St. Augustine's testimony, I am able quite to agree with you; though most strangely you say, that his view is the very one "impugned by" me. St. Augustine defends, you say, as "allowable under particular circumstances"—("desirable," I think, will be considered a fairer word, by those who have read the quotations adduced—"a course of conduct which is yet," under other circumstances, "an abandonment of the Church's duty." Your own expression indeed is, "abstractedly:" but as the Church of course cannot act "abstractedly" from *all* circumstances, but *must* act either under one set or under another, the words I have substituted are more accurate. And when, in addition to the above statement, we consider your own admission, that the Church's circumstances, from St. Augustine's time downward, have been essentially the same with each other in respect of the matter before us, and essentially different from those previous to his time;—it will appear that at last, after all your show of contention, you hardly differ one tittle from myself as to this great Father's real judgment. And this appears even more plainly from your concluding Notice, as I shall almost immediately proceed to explain.

The passage from St. Pacian, I quoted avowedly at second hand from Klee; and (circumstanced as I am) I have no immediate means of referring to it. I am quite content to leave it in your hands. You say that it is not *clear* from the *context* that

it means what the words would naturally import; though *another* section of the same work “seems to *favour*” my, or rather Klee’s “interpretation.” You further remark, that in this latter section the Saint “distinctly maintains that sinners were not tolerated” in the Church “while unrepentant.” But since, as we shall immediately see, you admit yourself that in St. Pacian’s time the fact was notoriously and avowedly the direct contrary to this, I find it difficult to believe that such can really be the meaning of the passage.

Turning now from this “unprofitable special pleading,” let me consider your broad answers to my broad facts. In regard to the times before Constantine, your reply is, that then, by my own confession, a discipline was enforced, which in later times was abandoned; and that in St. Cyprian’s time, for example, “the question was not whether ‘orthodox profligates’ should be excluded from the Church, but whether in grave cases they should ever be readmitted.” My main answer to this is now evident. You do not profess that the exclusion of evil men from the Church was ever regarded as more than an act of discipline; enforced by the Church at her discretion, in individual (however numerous) instances. But I allege that *professed heretics* were regarded as *essentially and by Divine ordinance* external to the Church. I admit indeed fully, that the Church of St. Cyprian’s time presented in her rules as broad a contrast to the Church of later ages as, *on a matter of mere discipline*, it well could present. And yet, very remarkably, notwithstanding all her elaborate laws of discipline, the passages cited from St. Cyprian abundantly shew that, “when the purifying fire of persecution relented, even for a moment,” the external features of the Church, in regard to the admixture of good and evil men, presented an astonishing resemblance to the appearance presented in that respect by the Church of every subsequent age: an appearance far indeed removed from that idea of “a Church without spot or blemish,” which, in point-blank opposition to St. Augustine, you claim as appertaining to the Church on earth. Ecclesiastical discipline then (from whatever cause), has never been such, as materially to affect the external appearance of the Church. And this is made still more clear, from the confessed phenomena of the sub-

sequent age; in which, be it never forgotten, the discipline in question still remained.

So much in reference to the three first centuries. But as to those which follow, the ground you take up is so astonishing, and at the same time so instructive, that I will preface my notice of it by a brief recapitulation of certain facts. In my last pamphlet occurs the following passage (p. 88) :

“That you should consider the ancient discipline more suitable to present circumstances than the modern, were it merely on both sides a matter of opinion, would be to me a surprising conclusion. That you confidently maintain this opinion, in admitted contradiction to the Church of twelve centuries at least, without so much as alleging support, either from the Church, or from any one holy man, belonging to any period since the Apostles; and founding your view merely on your own idea of ‘the spirit of Scripture,’ and on ‘the natural conclusions of a reason’ which, you confidently believe, it seems, is ‘informed by Scripture;’—this is as strong an instance, surely, of private judgment exercised in its most objectionable sense, as Germany or America can produce. But that you go even further, and not only confidently hold the ancient discipline to be better for these times than the modern, but pronounce the Church to have almost apostatised in consequence of making this change; this is really an allegation which it is difficult gravely to meet. Its eccentricity almost diverts one’s attention from its immeasurable audacity.”*

I charge you in this passage with alleging, that “the Church almost apostatised in making this change of discipline;” nor do you deny that such *is* your allegation. Your words indeed, as above quoted (see p. 13, 14), in their plain and natural sense, signify even more than this; they signify that she would have quite lost Christ’s presence thereby, had it not been that God’s “long-suffering” has so greatly “abated from the awfulness of His threatenings.” What will be the surprise of those who have not read your articles, when I mention that *in this censure you have expressly, and in so many words, included the Church contemporary*

* You have extracted the last sentence of this passage in your Fifth Notice, and you have quoted it, so detached, in a way which would give most of your readers a very erroneous impression. The passage, in its entirety, shews, that it is not the particular opinion you have formed, but your having formed it against such a weight of authority, which I so severely characterise.

with Constantine. So extraordinary a statement will hardly be believed without clear evidence; and I will therefore quote your own language. It occurs in your Final Notice.

“Mr. Ward will reply,” you say, “that it was not until the external circumstances of the Church were absolutely reversed by the state becoming Christian, that the Apostolic precept would be reversed also. But *will others admit* that the principle on which the Apostle so confidently grounds his command . . . *is true in the time of St. Paul, but false in that of Constantine?* And if not, to what does his *excuse* reduce itself? To this, that,” on certain grounds of “expediency,” “the Church *consented to reverse the Apostolic command:*”

—a command, in respect of which you are most earnest and energetic in arguing that it is “a precept *binding on every age*, and not only on the Apostolic;” that the Apostle is speaking, “*not* for the contemporary Corinthians, but for the Church of all ages:” while you comment on “the miserable tone of my sentiments,” because (among other things) I have not done justice to “the depth and meaning” of this said command. So that, putting these passages together, your judgment runs as follows: “St. Paul gave a certain commandment, binding not only on Christians of his own age, but on the Church of all ages; a command of such depth and meaning, that the mere supposition of its having been but of temporary obligation, implies a miserable tone of sentiments in one who so supposes. This commandment, the Church contemporary with Constantine, *reversed*; though the principle on which it rested was as true then, as in the very time of St. Paul himself.” Finally, you attack me for attempting to *excuse* this act; characterising my “*excuse*” as feeble and inconsequential.

That I, as a “Roman” Catholic, am called upon to *excuse* the Church of St. Athanasius, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, in answer to your attacks upon that Church, is a remarkable gauge of the speed with which the theological stream of your party is ebbing, towards the shoal of simple undisguised Protestantism. Even now I cannot venture to take for granted, that those of whom you seem the accredited organ, will echo your sentiments; it may be, and I sincerely hope it will, that when their attention

is called to the subject, they will disavow them. But I cannot refrain from quoting a passage, which I wrote while yet a Protestant several years ago; and which at that time, I believe, was counted merely as one of those controversial "extravagances," which you and others have at various times imputed to me. I must confess however that I was not myself prepared, for so very signal a throwing overboard of the Nicene period, as your recent Notices have displayed.

"As the controversy proceeds," I remarked, "it will not be a matter of surprise if 'high Churchmen' abandon their own ground, and take refuge in the *three* first centuries. Considering, indeed, that the Councils which give any sanction to the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed belong wholly to the later period, and considering too how firm a 'locus standi' these Councils have been ordinarily considered by 'high Churchmen' to afford, such a step would be a bold one. On the other hand, of course at a time when the whole Christian world was kept in a state of separation and depression by repeated persecutions, there was much less opportunity for its real nature to display itself than at later periods; and those accordingly, who are really, though most unconsciously, *opposed, not merely to later developments, but to Apostolical Christianity itself*, will be less triumphantly and signally refuted from the scanty remains of those three centuries, than from the copious records of the Nicene era."

Of course, as far as the point in controversy is concerned, nothing more is to be said: you not only admit, but vehemently maintain, that the Nicene Church is against you; and call on me, if I can, to "*excuse*" the said Church. And yet, this being your opinion, I could have wished you had from the first more openly said so, instead of resorting to the vague phrase, "the last twelve hundred years, to speak very much within the mark." (Anglo-Romanism, No. V.) "The last fifteen hundred years" would have been more simple and intelligible. Were you afraid of admitting even to yourself, how far your censure extended?

It may be as well to point out for others, (what cannot have escaped *your* observation,) that the view you take, as to the sinful course pursued by the Nicene Church, entirely overthrows the authority of that Church in matters of faith. A Church which, of two duties equally imperative, consistently and perseveringly

abandoned one,—a Church which “reversed” a precept of St. Paul’s which was as fully binding in that age as in the Apostolic—will hardly deserve much respect in her definitions of doctrine. Your position therefore comes to this, that for the truth of the propositions contained in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, there is no warrant, except private judgment exercised on the text of Scripture and on the patristic writings of the first three centuries; and that you Anglicans, in reciting the Athanasian Creed, anathematise your fellow-men for no other offence, except that of differing from yourselves in their interpretation of those writings.

You will not of course so misunderstand that passage of my own which I lately cited, as to imagine that I concede the Church of the earlier centuries to be one jot or tittle more in your favour than the Nicene Church. I only mean this, that a far more vivid picture is obtainable of Nicene sayings and doings than of earlier, though the far greater copiousness of surviving records; and such picture, as being more vivid, is therefore in more pointed and emphatic opposition to the state of your Church. The details of earlier ages which exist, are no less signally antagonistic to you than those of the fourth; only they are fewer. And I may add that, supposing a consistent theory could be formed merely as an hypothesis, (which, for the novelty of the thing, one would at least wish to see attempted,) purporting to defend your Establishment as part of the Catholic Church, I am perfectly certain that it would be as utterly impossible to obtain from the second or third, as from the first or fourth, century, one single fact or sentiment, which could appear even *primá facie* to give the most distant or colourable support to such a theory.

III. Now on the Scriptural argument: though before entering on it I must premise, that it is not according to a Catholic’s idea of humility, or of the most ordinary propriety, that a man should be so convinced of his own competency, moral and intellectual, for ascertaining the “mind of the Spirit,” that he would dare to hold by his own poor views on the Sacred Text, in opposition whether to the judgment of Saints or to the voice of the Church. A Catholic will not indeed, of course, profess to see in Scripture what he does *not* see; but he will shrink from supposing for a

moment that a thing is *not* there, merely because *he* does not see it. And so,—whereas the Nicene Church, having (according to your own account) to deal with a complete revolution of circumstances, encountered the change (as you maintain) with a complete revolution of discipline,—that I should judge their conduct to have been unlawful because of my own inferences from the Inspired Text, would appear to me presumption so frightful that were I guilty of it, I should almost expect to bring down a divine judgment on my head.

In such a case therefore, if, according to my own natural reading of Scripture, that were to appear forbidden which the Catholic Church has since done, I should take for granted that I misunderstood the Sacred Text. And I say this, lest the course I now take be misunderstood; and lest, when I meet you on the ground of Scripture, I should be understood as admitting the relevancy and propriety of your mode of appeal to it. But I must say that to me, the voice of the Apostolic Church, interpreted by Scripture alone, seems as directly and undeniably antagonistic to your views, as that of the Nicene Church itself: and more *cannot* be said.

In my last Letter I drew attention to the plain fact, that in the Apostolic Church was witnessed the very same contrast, which has existed in the Church Catholic of every age. I pointed out, that the Apostles were endued with the gift of infallible teaching, and that the Christian body had the privilege of receiving Christian doctrine *from* these living infallible teachers; but that neither Apostles nor people were promised any “power of sinlessness,” much less any “grace efficaciously preserving them from sin” (pp. 59, 63). I argued, that accordingly (p. 110), as no promise of impeccability had been given, nor any expectation of any thing like it had been held out, (insomuch that “St. Paul himself expresses his need of severe self-discipline ‘lest he become a reprobate,’”) there is nothing whatever to surprise us, were we to find the most heinous offences then or at any time. I added, that “such an instance” especially as that “of Judas Iscariot,” who, though an Apostle, committed the one most unspeakably fearful sin which the world ever saw, “might prepare us for any amount of wickedness in ecclesiastical *rulers* at future periods.” And as to the Christian *people* again, I specified (p. 98)

“Ananias and Sapphira, and the Corinthian profaners of the Lord’s Supper, and the Sardinian corruptions, and the Laodicean lukewarmness.” Let me notice then such comment as you have given, on these various arguments and citations.

The first, founded on the fact that infallibility was promised and not impeccability,—an argument which seems to me to go to the very root of the whole matter, and to prove demonstrably, as applicable to the privileges of the Christian Church, that very distinction between pure teaching and pure practice, which you deny,—this argument you have simply ignored: through your six Notices I cannot observe so much as the most distant allusion to it. My mention of the liability under which St. Paul himself was placed of becoming a reprobate, you describe as an “argument which does not appear to require any other answer than to be clearly stated” (Fourth Notice): on which I will only observe, that I should have been quite satisfied if you *had* “clearly stated” it. And of Judas Iscariot, the only other case you notice, you say, “we read not that he retained his Apostolate in spite of transgression, but that he ‘by transgression fell’ from it.” An extraordinary reply, indeed. For even if we were to make the strange supposition, that the awful guilt, with which Judas closed his earthly career, was a mere sudden impulse, in no way flowing from past habits of fearfully evil imaginings;—even on this supposition, we have two undoubted facts recorded by the sacred writers. In the first place, he was, apparently throughout his ministry, an habitual thief; which, considering the circumstances of the case, the sanctions which he transgressed, the trusts which he violated, above all the Person against whom he immediately sinned, implies surely in the Apostle a degree of guilt, which it is difficult to parallel in the worst crimes of the Apostles’ worst Successors. And in the second place, the exterior consummation of his final wickedness had already in part taken place, by his pact with the chief priests, at a time when his Master, even during the solemn institution of the Eucharist, treated him in every respect as one of the Twelve. Such is your answer to these two of my Scriptural citations; the rest you have not attempted to answer at all.

These arguments, I consider, rest not on isolated texts

which may admit of two interpretations, but on broad palpable facts, legible on the very surface of the Sacred Word; on particulars in the constitution of the Apostolic Church, which pervade the whole Scripture account of that Church. Your own Scriptural citations appear to me, I confess, of a very opposite character; such as they are however, it now becomes my business to consider them.

You first quoted our blessed Saviour's words, "by their fruits you shall know them;" to which you said that my own position was "even rudely and violently opposed." In my last Letter I replied upon this; and you now say, that *in* my reply "I admit" your assertion "in the tone of a person who impugns it." You could not have carried away this impression, I think, if you had read with care what I *did* say in answer. I referred indeed to St. John iv. 12, in order to shew that "false prophets" were discerned, not by their evil fruits alone, but also by their disagreement with the doctrine already revealed; and this part of my comment it was which led you into the mistake above mentioned. But my chief reply was grounded on this very phrase, "false prophets;" in that our blessed Saviour, as I observed, "by implication enforces the extreme importance of true doctrine, by His solemn words, 'beware of *false* prophets'" (p. 95). Since however you have so completely failed to catch my meaning, and since I do not wish to deny indeed that my words fail possibly so to bring it out, as to impress it with sufficient clearness on hasty readers, (though a little attention would make it plain enough),—I will try if I can now state it with a definiteness, which you will not be able to misunderstand.

Our Saviour, I said (p. 95), "is not *contrasting* soundness of faith with holiness of practice, but the very contrary; He says that the latter is a test of the former." In other words: "a true prophet" is a person or body which teaches aright what to believe and what to practise. *We* say that it is an essential note of the Catholic Church, and a privilege guaranteed to her by the infallible promises of Christ, that in matters of faith and morals, she shall always *be* a true prophet: *you* say, that there is no more promise that she shall always be a true prophet, than that she shall always display holiness and zeal in the great body of

her individual members; and therefore, in fact, that there is no such infallible promise at all. But to speak of doctrinal orthodoxy being *one* note of a true prophet, is simply unmeaning; to be a true prophet, *is* to be orthodox in teaching, and is nothing else. I say then that our blessed Saviour's words, in their direct significance, are wholly irrelevant to the question between us; and that in their implication they are on my side. In their direct significance they are irrelevant, because they presuppose some claim, in behalf of some person or authority, of being a "true prophet:" whereas it is your position, that (what you regard as) the Catholic Church neither makes, nor has a right to make, *any* such claim; you assert, not that the Catholic Church *is*, but that she is *not*, essentially "a true prophet." But in their *implication* these words are on my side: because, as I said, the solemn saying, "beware of false prophets," implies the extreme importance of having the guidance of a *true* prophet; whereas it is your distinct argument, throughout this controversy, that I *overrate* this importance.

Lastly, in my former Letter I proceeded to examine these words, so far as they *do* bear on the Catholic Church; and to shew how fully she, claiming as *she* undoubtedly *does* to be a true prophet, is able to substantiate this claim by this test of practical "fruits," notwithstanding the admitted worldliness and wickedness of great numbers among her children (pp. 95, 96). I shewed, as you in other words express this part of my argument, that "the Roman Catholic Church, viewed in certain aspects, does possess the note of sanctity, in a degree which proves overwhelmingly the truth of her mission." These last words indeed are not quite definite enough: rather "proves overwhelmingly the fact of her being a true prophet; that is, the purity of her faith." "This is a statement," you add, "which you have never failed to acknowledge;" though you consider it "consistent with your own argument." Strange indeed this last! For if the Church in communion with Rome be a true prophet, and if one of her most undoubted lessons to her children be (as all admit) that your Establishment is external to the Visible Body of Christ, it seems difficult to imagine how, consistently with the former admission, you can deny the latter proposition.

On the other texts adduced in your articles on "Anglo-Romanism," I have no comment here to make; because I replied to them all in my last Letter (pp. 97-99), and you have made no rejoinder. The only exception to this remark is, "the Apostolic admonition as to excluding notorious sinners from Christian communion;" which will be more conveniently considered, in connexion with the further Scriptural illustrations of it brought together in your concluding "Notice." I will first then dispose of one remaining text, adduced in the same "Notice," and then come to this whole question of the Apostolic use of excommunication.

The text I allude to is (1 Tim. v. 8): "If any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel;" in which, you say, "St. Paul expressly contrasts misconduct and unbelief, and declares the first to be the most unchristian." I am not aware of a single commentator, patristic, modern Catholic, or Protestant, who gives this sense to the passage; and had not *you* given it that sense, I should have thought it impossible for any one of sound mind to have done so. St. Chrysostom (*ad loc.*): "'He is worse than an infidel' wherefore? Because the latter, if he benefits not *aliens*, does not neglect his *near relations*." Estius: "Quia nimirum *infideles*, etsi *inimicos suos* se odisse profiteantur, domesticorum tamen curam habere solent, ducti lege naturæ; quam ipsi hâc in re non violant." Valpy: "These words plainly respect the provision which children should make for their parents. The *heathens themselves* put this among the first and most indissoluble principles of nature. . . . To be negligent in this matter was accounted one of the greatest impieties," &c. So that, in fact, this verse is precisely parallel in meaning to 1 Cor. v. 1: "There is . . . among you . . . such fornication as the like is not among the heathens." It has nothing in the world to do with any comparison between misconduct and misbelief; but is just such a sentiment as is continually heard from Catholic preachers, who dwell upon the practice of Protestants as putting to shame that of a lax Catholic: "such a Catholic," they say, "with greater light, yet in this or that particular commits greater sins than misbelievers themselves." As to *your* interpretation, it is evidently quite beside the mark; the

question being, not the amount of sin involved in unbelief, but the amount of virtue (such as care for his relatives) which an unbeliever may practise. In its true bearing, I think it would be a forced construction to press this text beyond what I above implied; viz. that there were Christians who *in one or two respects* fell below the heathen standard of morality. But it would serve *my* purpose as *against* you, if I *did* press it further; for it would then signify that some *members of the Apostolic Church* were *more wicked than the average run of heathen*. We know from Rom. i. 24-32 what this average was.

While the preceding text then cannot possibly have such a meaning as you suppose, I should have thought that every one must acknowledge the existence of numberless passages in Scripture, where "faith" is spoken of as the only foundation on which "good works," *i. e.* Christian works, can be built; and as the gate and introduction of the whole Christian life. I will not attempt to enter upon these in detail, partly because I do not wish in this "final Letter" to introduce new matter without absolute necessity; and partly because to express myself with any detail and precision on the subject, would bring me across all the rival interpretations of the word "faith" and the rival commentaries on St. Paul, of which peaceful men would rather keep clear, wherever it is possible to do so. I have been reminded however of one passage, by its immediate vicinity to one of those which you quote. St. Paul says to Timothy: "have faith and good conscience; which [latter] some rejecting, have made shipwreck concerning the faith." This passage is spiritless, pointless, nay, absolutely meaningless, unless we suppose that "to make shipwreck concerning the faith" is an *additional* calamity, and one removing the Christian *farther from God*, than the "rejecting of a good conscience:" the former is spoken of, just as Catholics speak of it, as a fearful judgment occasionally inflicted in punishment for the former.

I now come then to the only one of your Scripture arguments, which has any pretensions to breadth and generality; the rest having been a mere citation (as I think, a most unsuccessful citation) of isolated texts. There is however this one broad fact to which you appeal—the Apostolic use of excommunica-

tion. As I wish to do the fullest justice to an argument of real force, whenever I do happen to meet with one at your hands, I will state your case in your own language.

“It is useful to remind people,” you say, “how infinitely the shadow of ecclesiastical discipline which is still maintained by the Church, falls short of that energetic extirpation of evil, that vigorous exclusion from the Christian brotherhood of notorious sinners, which is prescribed by Scripture, and was practised in the infancy of the Church.”—*Anglo-Romanism*, No. V.

In my last Letter (p. 96) I cited the following passage as a sample of those to which you alluded.

“I have written to you not to keep company, if any man that is named a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or a server of idols, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner—with such an one not so much as to eat” (1 Cor. v. 11).

In your concluding “Notice” you add the following passages, referring respectively to “misbelief and misconduct,” in order to shew “that the same discipline is expressly prescribed for each,” in contradiction to my strong advocacy of a wide distinction existing between them. “If there come any unto you, and *bring not this doctrine*, receive him not into your home, nor bid him God speed; for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds.” Parallel to this, you say, is the above passage, “not to *keep company*, if any brother be a *fornicator*, &c.” Again, of the heretics Hymeneus and Alexander, St. Paul writes, “whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme” (1 Tim. i. 20). Of the incestuous Corinthian, he bids the Church, in exactly the same tone, “in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ . . . to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus” (1 Cor. v. 4).

I particularly desire to avoid all such cavil and special pleading on the mere letter of these and similar citations, as you lay to my charge; all explaining *away*; all those “half-arguments,” if I may use your own happy expression while altogether denying its applicability,—“all those half-arguments by which” a controversialist might attempt to “jostle them out of sight.” I particu-

larly desire to accept them in their full and natural import; to imbibe their spirit; to do justice to their entire bearing. How far I may succeed in this, of course I am not the best judge.

I begin with an observation, which I have already in part made at the outset of the present Letter. The "heretics," whom the Apostles had to deal with, were in one respect, and that one of the very greatest moment, altogether different from the great body of heretics in after times. The Arianisers, for example, did not profess to hold the same doctrine with the Church of St. Damasus, St. Athanasius, and St. Ambrose; but the very contrary: and so with other heresies of that or of other periods. For this very reason, heretics not only form conventicles of their own, but also, as Father Newman points out (*On Development*, p. 248), heap on (what is really) the Catholic Church of their day the most opprobrious epithets.

"By Montanists, Catholics were called 'the carnal;' by Novatians, 'the apostates;' by Valentinians, 'the worldly;' by Manichees, 'the simple;' by Aerians, 'the ephemeral;' by Apollinarians, 'the man-worshippers;' by Origenists, 'the flesh lovers' and 'the slimy;' by the Nestorians, 'Egyptians;' by Monophysites, 'the Chalcedonians;' by Donatists, 'the traitors,' 'the sinners,' and 'the servants of Anti-christ,' and St. Peter's chair 'the seat of pestilence;' by Luciferians the Church was called 'a brothel,' 'the devil's harlot,' and 'synagogue of Satan.'"

Now if we consider for a moment, we shall see that, if there were any body of men who in the first century spoke, in terms such as these, of the Apostolic Church, and of the doctrine which they admitted to be *taught* by the Apostles, they would be simply *ipso facto* external to the Church, and so regarded by all Christians: such Scriptural language as you quote applies no more to *them*, than to avowed worshippers of Jupiter and Mercury. Supposing indeed that a Christian were to apostatise even into such open and avowed hostility to the Gospel as this last, it might be suitable that an Apostle should exercise his miraculous power in inflicting on him some bodily penalty; but it would be simply unmeaning to speak of *expelling* from the Church one, who neither was, nor claimed to be, a member of it.

The "heretics" then against whom the Apostles had to warn the faithful, were those who preached false doctrines *on the alleged authority of the Apostles*. "If there come any unto you," says St. John in the passage you cite, "and bring not *this doctrine*, receive him not into your house," &c.: for you may be sure he is no true exponent of our teaching. And so, even more expressly, St. Paul to the Thessalonians: "We beseech you, brethren, that you be not easily moved, nor be frightened, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by epistle, *as sent from us*, as if the day of the Lord were at hand" (2 Thess. ii. 1, 2). Of Hymeneus's party, he says: "Their speech spreadeth *like a canker*" (2 Tim. ii. 17). No teachers of course could have made *the least* way in the Christian body, who openly and expressly professed to speak against St. Peter, St. Paul, and the whole body of Apostles; but suppose them to profess *Apostolic authority* for their heresies, there might probably enough be extreme and imminent danger of their "speech spreading." And so Titus is commanded to "avoid" (or, as you translate, "reject") "a man that is a heretic, *after the first and second admonition*" (Titus iii. 10); because, as our commentators explain it, after two admonitions, the offender may be fairly considered as sufficiently informed *what* the Apostolic doctrine is, and as wilfully rebellious therefore in continuing to oppose it. But does any one imagine that a person, standing up in the Church of Crete, and openly professing that the Apostles were liars and impostors, would have been counted a Christian until *twice admonished*?

It follows therefore, that that very thing which has been mainly known under the name of heresy in every successive age of the Church, is altogether beyond the scope of these texts; and that, as far as *that special thing* is concerned, your whole comparison between the Apostolic treatment of misbelief and of misconduct falls to the ground.

This being laid down at starting, I fully admit the rest. I fully admit that there were two things, in behalf of which the Apostles laboured with equal zeal, and exercised their apostolical power with equal vigour: viz. to exterminate from the Visible Body of the Church, and from the communion of the faithful, on the one hand open and scandalous sinners; and on the other

hand those, who, under pretence of Apostolic authority, corrupted Apostolic doctrine. "Concedo totum," as the scholastics say.

This then being fully admitted on my side, and on your side it being fully admitted as an "undoubted truth" "that a command *may* be Apostolic and yet temporary" (Concluding Notice), we have next to decide how far either of these two respective commands is of temporary, and how far of permanent, obligation. And I need not say that the mere fact of the Apostle enforcing both with equal zeal and energy, is of itself no sufficient proof that both were *equally* intended for permanence. Judgment must be passed on each, according to its own special circumstances.

I will begin then with the Apostolic treatment of such heretics as those above described; and certainly there is no great difficulty in discovering the reason for the severity which was exercised against them. You admit of course yourself, that, until the death of St. John, it was God's intention that Christians should enjoy the blessing of infallible teaching; and you must admit with equal readiness that this blessing would be interfered with and hindered, exactly in proportion as the doctrines, inculcated by these infallible guides, failed to reach the people in a pure and unadulterated state. In an extreme supposition, the whole Christian body might be perverted into some other Gospel "which was not another;" but on any supposition, unless the most anxious pains were taken to eradicate these false interpreters and their proselytes, the faith of indefinite numbers would be exposed to the most imminent peril of subtle yet most deep corruption.

I cannot but think that these simple considerations will enable us to solve *this* part of the problem with extreme facility. If the post-Apostolic Church were not to be likewise infallible, the whole reason for this discipline would fall to the ground; and earnest and emphatic as the Apostles' warnings and denunciations may have been, we can in reason allow them only a temporary scope. "Cessante ratione cessat lex." So far as the Apostles punished these heretics for being *dangerous*,—the danger ceased when there was no longer an infallible teacher whose words *could* be perverted, and when the Apostolic writings might be in the hands of all. So far as it was their *sin* which brought on them the Apostolic censure, the sin of obstinately and carnally blinding

themselves to the Apostles' real meaning,—such sin was no longer possible, when there were no longer living persons, whose meaning Christians were bound *rightly* to understand. But if on the other hand, as I argued at length in my former Letter (p. 57-83), “the notion of infallibility is intimately and indissolubly bound up in the notion itself of the Christian Society; and the depositum of faith is not separable even in idea from the living voice of an infallible Church;” then these Apostolic precedents apply, and these Apostolic precepts bind, even until the second coming of Christ. In one word, according to *your* view of the post-Apostolic Church, these precepts are *not* intended for permanence; according to *our* view of it, they *are*.

Just then as in the case of heretical teachers, however strong the Apostolic language, I fully admit that it is quite unreasonable to apply that language to later times, except so far as the circumstances remain parallel; so in my last Letter I maintained the same proposition in the case of evil livers. I cannot do better indeed than give your own summary of my argument. I observed in the first place, that at a later period the circumstances of the Church were absolutely reversed by the State becoming Christian; and this statement you fully admit to be true. I proceeded to argue that, while Christians are commanded by the Apostle to separate from sinners professing Christianity, they are allowed by him to continue courteous intercourse with heathens of a similar character, and are implicitly commanded (as far as may be) to remain “in the world.” These premisses also you fully concede; and yet the conclusion which would seem so necessarily to follow from them, the conclusion that, when the circumstances of the Church were reversed, the discipline depending on those circumstances would of course be reversed also,—this you absolutely repudiate. And what makes this even more strange is, that in your original series (“Anglo-Romanism,” No. V.) you appear to admit “that the present state of undiscipline,” which you regard as “equally short of primitive precedents and of the Church’s ideal as it lies on the face of Scripture, may yet be *collected from that Scripture to have been predetermined by the Almighty*; as it would perhaps have seemed inevitable to any merely human foresight.” You allude here, I suppose, to some

passages in the Gospels, commonly quoted by our controversialists; which I shall now proceed to cite.

“And the servants said to Him, ‘Wilt Thou that we go and gather it up?’ And he said, ‘*No; lest, perhaps, gathering the cockle, you root up the wheat also together with it: suffer both to grow until the harvest.*’ . . . The harvest is the end of the world. *At the end of the world the Son of man shall send His angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all scandals, and them that work iniquity. Then shall the just shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father*” (Matt. xiii. 28-30; 39-43). “The kingdom of heaven is like to a net cast into the sea, and gathering together *of all kind of fishes; which, when it was filled, they drew out, and, sitting by the shore, they chose out the good into vessels, but the bad they cast forth. So shall it be at the end of the world*” (Matt. xiii. 47, 49).

I may refer in the same Gospel to xxii. 11-13; xxv. 1-12; xxv. 18, 24-30: all of which texts express, with more or less distinctness, that at the Day of Judgment, for the first time, will there be, on any great and consistent scale, a visible separation between good and bad. Such texts as these are of a distinctly prophetic character, and *do* allude distinctly to *all* ages of the Church; and they are the words moreover of Him, to whom the Future is as the Present.

In summing up the argument and observing your admissions, my readers may begin to wonder what loophole you have left yourself. You admit that He who promised that the gates of Hell should never prevail against His Church, yet “predetermined the present state of undiscipline” within her. You admit that the same state of undiscipline “would perhaps have seemed inevitable to merely human foresight.” You make no attempt at making out any such case, of “predetermination on the part of God,” or “inevitableness according to human foresight,” for that toleration of *heresy* within a professing Church, which it is the one purpose of your argument to *parallel* with toleration of vice; or rather indeed, as we shall presently see, you confess the exact opposite. You admit that the state of things for which the Apostles legislated, was the very contrary to the whole later state of things, in the very point here in question. You do not maintain (as no one does) that the Apostles were ordinarily endowed with distinct foreknowledge of the future

course of ecclesiastical events. You admit that, from the very moment of being *confronted* with this change of circumstances, the Catholic Church adopted that precise course, which you make a matter of such blame against us at the present day. You admit that the Church of the fourth century had as full knowledge as you have of those texts of St. Paul and the rest, on which you lay such stress; and that she nevertheless interpreted Scripture on this head in a sense critically and pointedly the opposite of yours. And yet so confident are you that *you*, in opposition to St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and the rest, have seized the “spirit of Scripture,” that, on the strength of that supposition, you do not hesitate to pronounce sentence of close approach to Apostacy, on every Church calling itself Christian from that day to this.

Now it is not too much to say, that the whole Scripture argument, on which you rest such awful conclusions, is vitiated from first to last by a confusion of ideas so undeniable, that merely to point it out is all that can be required. You confuse the two totally distinct ideas, of a “temporary” precept on the one hand, and a “merely ceremonial” one on the other. You take for granted that because (on the authority of our Blessed Saviour and of the Catholic Church) I maintain that this precept was not intended to be of permanent obligation, I thereby imply that it had not a most important moral meaning, and a most important moral bearing, in the time of the Apostles. Nothing can be further from the truth. I need hardly say, I suppose, that I have just as little doubt that the Church’s discipline in the first century was suitable to the circumstances of the first century, as that her discipline in the fourth was suitable to those of the fourth: just as little; *less I cannot* have. Now, surely it is self-evident, that a mode of discipline, eminently suitable to the circumstances of the time,—and unspeakably conducive therefore to that most important of objects, the saving of souls,—would be pursued by the Apostles (if I may use so trivial an expression) *con amore*; that it would be a labour of love with them; and that they would exhort Christians to the observance of the rules laid down on the subject, in the tone of men who are enforcing what is of the most vital importance to the spiritual good of the

community. You speak most truly of the "strong and clear sentences of indignation in which the Apostle appears to embody the spirit and objects of that discipline" (Concluding Notice): "'Know ye not,' is his earnest question," as you proceed to urge, "'that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump? Purge out, therefore, the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened.' And he sums up his whole teaching on the subject in the short and impressive conclusion: 'therefore put away from yourselves the wicked person.'" "How different," you then add, "from the measured words in which is delivered the precept" of abstinence from things strangled, and from blood!

Fully sympathising as I do with this passage on the whole, and strongly thinking, with you, that the Apostle's feeling towards these latter precepts would be of a widely different kind indeed from that wherewith he would enforce the abstaining from all intercourse with a wicked Christian,—I cannot forbear, however, from commenting on the strange blunder into which you have fallen in this last passage; and on the lesson we may thence derive, as to the danger of resting weight on conclusions destitute of external authority, and which claim acceptance only from their accordance with what we are disposed to think "the spirit of Scripture." You speak of the "measured words in which is delivered the precept" from the Apostolic Council (Acts xv. 28, 29), as implying that such precept "comprised matters of merely temporary obligation." Now, one of the matters contained in this precept, and spoken of just in the same tone with the rest, is abstinence "*from fornication.*" See the danger of such confident arguing, not from definite external authority, but from this impalpable "spirit of Scripture."*

To return, however. Certainly I am not the person to deny, that this duty of purging the Church from evil men, and causing it to shine before the world as a living pattern and exemplar of Christian sanctity, is one eminently attractive to a spiritual mind. Each state of things has its own peculiar advantages, which we love and cherish; without thereby meaning to imply

* You speak of "the precept *to which Mr. Ward refers*, as comprising matters of merely temporary obligation;" as though I had preceded you in this blunder: but my only words were, "No one *e. g.* regards abstinence from things strangled and from blood, as permanently binding" (p. 96).

that of rights there ought to be no *other* state of things. It is "the inalienable office of the Church," as I said in my last Letter (p. 87), "to proclaim outwardly to the world the sanctity which is enshrined within herself:" and St. Paul was engaged in promoting this, her essential office, by the very means which were then most efficacious to that end. Is it to be wondered at if his tone implies, what is just the simple truth, that he was engaged in a line of exertion, than which no other could be more indispensably obligatory and more immediately conducive to the glory of God? Or rather, would it not be a matter of the greatest wonder if his tone were otherwise? What then can be more outrageously preposterous than to bring his writings into court, as you bring them, with the view of eliciting from them a judgment on a question which literally never came before him; the question namely, whether, if circumstances were wholly to change, the means he would adopt for carrying out this essential duty would be the same or different?

Enough then, a great deal more than enough indeed, has now been said, in vindication of what we Catholics regard as the true interpretation of the texts which you specify:—an interpretation, which does as full justice to the scope and spirit of St. Paul and St. John as your own does; but which enables us also to do what you *cannot*, defer to the clear statements and predictions of St. Paul's and St. John's *Master*: an interpretation which enables us to regard the Church of the three first centuries with as much of deep reverence as you can regard it with; while we are able to bestow equal admiration and sympathy on that glorious Nicene *burst* (if I may so express myself), which your theory compels *you* to consider as the very entrance within the sanctuary of the spirit of Antichrist.

IV. The principles then which I have been laying down, are both clear and definite, and also consistent with each other, with Scripture, and with Antiquity: while those propounded by yourself, 1st, are mutually contradictory; 2d, set one part of Scripture at variance with another; and 3d, extol one period of the Early Church to the disparagement of another. Over the ground of Scripture and Antiquity I have now sufficiently travelled; it remains to defend my own arguments, and assail yours, so far as

they do not directly refer to either of these two heads, but are occupied with discussing the *reason* of the thing.

Here, *in limine*, I have two great complaints to make of the course you have pursued. In the first place, in this, as in the Scriptural argument, you have altogether neglected what I may call the main trunk-line of my reasoning, and occupied yourself with comment on a variety of details; every one of which might be surrendered to your mercy (though *they will not be*) without serious damage to my argument. The second is, that while I find plenty of cavil and objection to (what I maintain as) the *Catholic* theory, I can find no such thing as any *counter* theory; not so much as the faintest attempt at a consistent statement of principles adverse to mine. Let me beg my readers, *e. g.*, to refer to the extract I made a few pages back, from the first article in which you developed your singular views on Church-discipline: in regard to that extract, I said in my last Letter (p. 99):

“Make a clear statement *what* are the conditions imposed by our blessed Saviour as the tenure on which the Church remains in possession; give proofs of this statement from Scripture; explain how the facts of history and testimony of the Fathers accord with it. I am quite convinced that you cannot do any one of these three things; but if you do, I pledge myself, in that case, to meet you on your new ground.”

I cannot think it creditable to your controversial character, that so distinct and so very reasonable a challenge has been left as totally unnoticed by you, as though it had never been made. I will not follow your example; but will here give a general statement of those principles contained in my last Letter, which bear on the question at issue.

I abandoned any attempt (p. 58) to conjecture *à priori*, on grounds of reason, what might have been *expected* from God in giving us a revelation; considering that reason might be more profitably exercised on the actual revelation given, as on its subject matter (pp. 58, 59). I pointed out that what the Gospel on its first promulgation *did* in fact offer, was on the one hand a consistent and true guidance, for those who cared to follow it, on the great principles of religion and morality; and on the other hand an accurate instruction in certain high and heavenly truths,

then first revealed, belief in which was calculated to produce the most elevating and supernatural effect on the whole moral and spiritual character (pp. 59, 60). In order to shew more strongly how signal and unspeakable a blessing was afforded by this true guidance, I urged that, for want of such guidance, the greatest moral evils prevailed in heathen countries; evils which I specified in detail, shewing their connexion with the absence of such guidance: insomuch, I added, that elevated and consistent virtue was rendered practically impossible (p. 59).

The next step in my argument, so far as it bears on the point in hand, was to give reasons for my firm conviction, that this provision for true and infallible guidance was never intended to be merely temporary; but, on the contrary, to be "commensurate in its duration with Christianity itself" (pp. 64-72). And I proceeded at once to make plain, that if this were once granted, the claims of what we regard as the Catholic Church are established (pp. 72, 73).

In behalf of this same attribute of infallibility I further argued, that when it is absent, as in your own Establishment, all those fearful evils immediately recur (to whatever extent their degree may be mitigated) which it was the very function of the Gospel on its first appearance to remove (pp. 76-78):—that in such a case there was, further, no sufficient calling into action of the principle of *faith* (p. 81):—that so far as it *is* called into action, it is in fact faith in *man* not in *God* (p. 80):—and that in regard even to any *true* doctrine which may be believed by those external to the infallible Church, there is no means of *evidencing* to the mass of such men its divine origin; because these men "are brought into no direct contact with any authority which claims to be the very Voice of God" (p. 83). And I implied of course as self-evident, all through my argument, that all these inestimable blessings which the infallible teaching of the Church confers, are conferred (as the very terms shew) by the fact itself *of* that infallible teaching, so only such teaching continued to be promulgated; and is not therefore in any way interfered with, by any conceivable amount of wickedness, whether in Christian rulers or people. Lastly, I drew out in some little detail some of the various senses in which "the Catholic Church of every age and

place is, as we maintain, especially holy." Thus—first she inculcates those pure and genuine doctrines of the Gospel, and those lofty and elevated principles of morality, which, in proportion as they are realised and dwelt upon, lead to sanctity, and without which sanctity cannot exist; secondly, she preserves the Sacraments, by means of which that supernatural principle is implanted which alone can produce sanctity; thirdly, in an infinite variety of ways, (some of which I mention,) she is ever at work, (sometimes more actively, sometimes less; but always more or less,) to catch souls and raise them to God (pp. 84-87).

To all this, which in fact is the great staple of my argument, and that part on which the main stress was laid, I can literally find no answer; unless indeed I except the following brief comment, in your Fourth Notice, on the passage just now referred to, in p. 59 of my former Letter. "Mr. Ward strives to frame a theory," you say, to explain "the object for which the Church was set up," "which shall suit the exigencies of the Roman system; and to hide the deficiencies of that theory by a cloud of words." As this "theory" was the very foundation on which my whole superstructure was reared, surely it was your business to *shew* its "deficiencies" if you could, and *expose* the fallacies concealed by my "cloud of words." As you have made no attempt so to do, and as it is impossible for me to answer objections with which I am not acquainted, and the nature of which I cannot conjecture, the truth of the general principles above stated must be assumed for the purposes of the present argument.

I say then that those most special and signal blessings "which, as the records of Apostolic times shew, were the very object for which the Church was set up," must remain unimpaired, so long as Christian faith and morality are inculcated in their unsullied purity; or, in other words, according to our belief, wherever the Catholic Church exists. But I never maintained, as you think I did (Fourth Notice), (God forbid!) that "*God's work on earth was not impeded*" by those deplorable scandals on which you have so earnestly dwelt. On the contrary, I admitted that "*evils of the gravest character afflicted Christendom . . . from the character of various Popes,*" in consequence of "the free scope allowed by them to bad practices of various kinds" (Second Letter, p. 115);

and the circumstances of another place and period, which I in the same breath maintained to be fully consistent with Catholic communion, I nevertheless designated as “*a most miserable and detestable state of things*” (First Letter, p. 5). I fully accede to every thing contained in the passage which you quote from Baronius; nor indeed is it probable that I was unaware of the said passage, seeing that Father Newman (I think more than once, but certainly once) quoted it in the *British Critic*. I believe that I am as fully alive as you can be, “to the corrupting effect upon a Christian people of scandalous misconduct among those whose office they are bound to revere.” I am quite aware that “the wickedness of a ruler induces almost of necessity a corruption of the machinery which he directs, a corrupt administration of patronage,* . . . a general distrust and carelessness of what is holy, a variety of particular triumphs of evil over good, all tending in the same direction to the loss of souls for whom Christ died.” God forbid, I repeat, that I should be blind myself, or seek to blind others, to the miserable and disastrous results which must flow from Papal or Episcopal depravity! I only say that the good which the Church, from her divine constitution, cannot but retain, does not simply outbalance,—that it is literally incommensurable with,—these evils, exceedingly great as they are; and that “he who is in search for spiritual and supernatural truth, under a deep sense of its indispensable importance, and with a sufficient perception of the helplessness and blindness of mere individual judgment in groping after such truth—that he will not find this whole class of objections to be so much as even a temporary obstacle in his path” (Second Letter, p. 118). My reason for being sure of this was expressed in that very “theory,” to which you have not attempted any reply.

It will be perhaps more satisfactory however, though certainly not necessarily called for, if I repeat parts of this “theory” in the present connexion. And in doing so, I am of course, as I need hardly say, to assume that the doctrine inculcated *e. g.* by John XII. *was* absolutely pure and orthodox; because that is the

* I omit here the words, “a corrupt exercise of discipline,” as I suppose you to mean thereby ecclesiastical censures. Referring you to my explanation (Second Letter, pp. 112, 113) on this head, I claim to know how such “corrupt exercise” is even conceivable.

very thing to *be* assumed in the argument between us. You say that it is “trifling with a serious subject, to argue that the state of things” above described “is not inconsistent with the objects for which the Church was set up, because the man who is thus corrupting the action of that Church is supposed by Roman Catholics to be incapable of declaring what is untrue in matters of doctrine,” &c. And I reply, that if he *be* incapable of declaring what is untrue in matters of faith and morals (*which I am therefore to assume for the purpose of this argument*), to argue this very proposition is not “trifling with a serious subject” at all; but, on the contrary, is to advocate what is itself a very serious and certain truth.

Let us remember then that, upon our view of the case, every Christian in the days of John XII., who experienced even a momentary impulse towards the service of God, knew at once exactly *what* to do in order to please Him. Those principles of morality were at once placed before him, which alone fully, and ever more and more deeply, satisfy the conscience, in proportion as its voice is elicited into distinct shape. He was instructed in those high spiritual truths concerning God and His dealing with man which, in proportion as they are realised, are in the deepest and truest harmony with those moral principles—nay, which (as one may say) swallow up morality into religion, and enable the whole moral and religious character to attain that consistency and proportion, for which man had before possessed the materials, but not the power; the external form, but not the quickening, animating spirit.*

Now consider, on the other hand, the numbers of men in heathen or in Protestant countries who, with a keen and ardent desire for supernatural truth, are driven to try first one system of error and then another; and who (even supposing that they do not die before they have gone through the dismal catalogue; supposing that they have succeeded against the thousand adverse chances, and finally arrived at the truth; yet) arrive at it with energies exhausted by the previous search, and incapable of making vigorous use of it for the glory of God and the good of

* I might here go on for some time longer in the same strain, applying to the present purpose the contents of pp. 59, 60 of my Second Letter.

their own souls. Consider still more, the multitudes of feeblers and gentler spirits, who conceive for the moment earnest aspirations for what is holy, whose hearts are stirred within them by the Spirit of God, but who are driven back to the mire of merely selfish objects and interests by the apparent impossibility of attaining any certain knowledge of Divine truth.* Dwell for a moment on their restless and unhappy condition; feeling their need of Divine guidance, yet knowing not where to look for it;—dreading some unknown future, yet ignorant how to seek security in regard to it;—dissatisfied with their existing code of morality, yet unable to find a better;—feeling themselves utterly worsted in whatever contest they may attempt against their evil passions, yet dreaming not from what quarter to expect help and succour;—and say whether, if the condition of the Catholic Church, as we believe it to have been when governed by John XII., had been revealed to them, they would not have ardently apostrophised the Catholics of that date: “Blessed are *your* eyes for they see, and *your* ears for they hear; for many . . . have desired to see those things which ye see and have not seen them, and to hear those things which ye hear and have not heard them.”

So far from it being true that to say this is to “trifle with a serious subject,” I really believe that almost all men possessed of any moral earnestness, even those who regard with the greatest hatred or contempt mediæval religion, would yet agree with me in direct opposition to you; they would agree, that, if the pure and genuine doctrines of religion and morality *were* indeed then infallibly guarded and inculcated, (which of course they deny; but that *if* the case had been so,) the Church which performed that office, odious profligate though its earthly governor might be, was yet the instrument of unspeakable and incomparable good to the souls of men.

But I have not yet stated even so much as half my case. Times of general laxity and coldness are proverbially succeeded by times of general ardour and enthusiasm. What effect is produced in Protestant countries by this phenomenon? Let the copious history of fanaticism declare. Rival parties, fiercely contending against, and proselytising from, each other, instead of

* See this general argument at greater length, * Second Letter, pp. 59, 77, 78.

unitedly contending against the world, the flesh, and the devil; none able to cope with human nature in its entirety; each holding some miserable fragment of the truth; each sect professing the right of private judgment, and yet each as intolerant of dissent from its peculiar tenets as though it claimed a special revelation from Heaven; until the profession of religious zeal becomes, in the eyes of the many, a mere symbol for contentiousness, narrow-mindedness, and arrogance. Contrast with this the age of revival which succeeded those dark times whereon you comment. With what single unanimity of purpose were the Reformers enabled to proceed on their crusade, and contend against the spiritual evils which had obtained access into the Church! with what unmistakable clearness were precedents which were already in possession, and moral and doctrinal principles which were already in authority, placed ready to their hand! what untold advantage do we not find them deriving at every step from the fact, that one, and one only, type of religious fervour is deeply impressed on the popular mind! On one side, is simply zeal; on the other side, simply laxity.* To what were they indebted for these signal, nay indispensable, advantages? To that whole chain, of which John XII. and the rest were necessary links. In a word then, if you are to estimate the full blessings which the infallible guidance of a John XII., no less than of a St. Leo or a St. Gregory, confers on the Church, regard not only the effect of that guidance on contemporary Christians, most important though that be,—regard its effect also in handing down Gospel truth pure and unadulterated to following ages; to ages, whose zeal and fervour will not be content with merely keeping it and as it were hiding it in a napkin, but will *trade* with it, and put it to usury, and gain returns a thousand-fold. That St. Gregory VII. *had* it wherewith to trade, he owed, among the rest, to John XII. and Benedict IX.; or rather, to the Divine guidance by which these Pontiffs were surrounded.

After such considerations as these, your objections are in truth any thing rather than formidable. On the immediate matter indeed of these wicked Popes, I find only one tangible

* See this more briefly expressed, Second Letter, p. 118.

reply to me, in the whole of the Notice (the Fourth) devoted to that subject. I mentioned in my former Letter (pp. 113, 114), that while it is simply impossible, according even to the strict letter of our doctrines, that a Pope should exercise his spiritual weapons to enjoin any sinful act, it was nevertheless “*abstractedly conceivable* that some command might issue from Rome, on the one hand not directly enjoining any thing immoral, and yet on the other hand enjoining something indifferent, with a manifestly immoral purpose.” As one instance of this, supposing that in some Christian country an ascetic prelate were vigorously contending against evil practices, “it is abstractedly conceivable, so far as the mere *letter* of our doctrine extends,” that from sympathy with those practices, a wicked Pope might deprive such prelate of his jurisdiction.* And I am sure, from the tone in which you speak, that readers unversed in the history of those times would regard such a thing as a matter of ordinary occurrence; whereas I challenged you to produce one such instance. Similar complaints indeed, though of a less serious nature, *have* been made, specially by writers in your communion, concerning Popes of unblemished life; so far as this, that your writers consider these Pontiffs to have failed in supporting with sufficient vigour such a prelate as St. Thomas of Canterbury, and also to have made undue concessions of one kind or other to the civil power: and I allude to these charges in my last Letter (p. 119). As far indeed as I am able to judge, our writers prove very successfully (the conclusion to which, *à priori*, I should have most strongly inclined,) that these charges are founded in error: but what is remarkable in the case of these *wicked* Popes is, that no such *charges* are made *at all*.

In reply then to my question, how the Popes of whom you are speaking used their “spiritual weapons” for evil purposes, you reply by pointing out that the Papal palace was polluted by excesses; that a Pope used his temporal power for purposes of savage vengeance; that bishops were consecrated for money; and bishoprics given to boys of ten years old: the two

* I do not mean to imply that *this* would be a case in which the inferior “might be in a state of perplexity and difficulty to know what is his duty” (Second Letter, p. 113), because, of course, his jurisdiction would be *unquestionably* gone.

first of which particulars are simply and undeniably beside the question, and the two last fall altogether short of the particular kind of evil above referred to. You seem indeed yourself to admit, that none of these cases amount to any use of the Pope's "*spiritual weapons*;" and that your only instance of the last is that excommunication of bishops by John XII. which I shall immediately consider.

On the other hand, I wish freely to concede, (retracting what I implied to the contrary in my former Letter,) that you were justified in using the expression, that these Popes "used the holiest place without hindrance for the vilest purposes;" in a general sense indeed, but in one quite true and sufficient. I understood you to mean, that they used the "*spiritual weapons*" afforded them by that place, for such purposes; and this I deny, so far as any facts are concerned which you have produced, or of which I am aware. But in all those particulars above mentioned, no doubt it was, as you say, "their Papal position" which these evil men abused, and that "to the vilest purposes." But in *this* sense the assertion makes surely but a very insignificant figure in the way of argument.

I come then to the one case which you *do* allege of unjustifiable use of spiritual weapons; viz. the excommunication by John XII. of those bishops who professed to depose him. I replied in my last Letter, as you truly quote me, that "few Catholics would not earnestly contend that no Pope could ever be deposed against his will," and that he merely therefore "vindicated the legitimate privileges of his See." On this you rejoin, that such at all events was not the "view taken by the Church of the day;" for that "opposition to the new Pope," *i. e.* anti-Pope as *we* should say, "was abandoned even by those who attempted it," and that the writers of that age, on Baronius' testimony, were led by their detestation of John's vices to favour Otho and his nominee. It is not worth while to spend time in controversy on details: I will only say, that political motives seem to have been quite as much concerned as religious with the whole movement against the Pope; that John XII. in the following year held a council in Rome which deposed Leo; that the whole contest ended with the death both of the anti-Pope Leo and

of John's successor, Benedict V., within two years; and that I cannot even understand your meaning when you say that "opposition to Leo was abandoned even by [all] those who attempted it." I may further observe also, that, on your own statement, even in that dark age, corruption was not so prevalent, but that there was a very universal detestation of the Pope's vices.

But the whole of this is simply irrelevant. The fact remains literally without any attempt on your part to assail it, that the only use of John's "spiritual weapons" to which you object, was his doing an act which (as I said) can by no possibility be urged as a reason against accepting Catholicism; because in accepting Catholicism, any one would probably come to consider it an act which he (John XII.) was literally *bound* to do. To enlarge on the great mass of historical evidence on which this principle rests, that no Pope can be deposed against his will; and to point out how very far are the circumstances of this particular period from offering any difficulty against the evidence for this principle; would be to enter on that class of subjects which you have expressly declined to argue. But a thoughtful Catholic cannot fail to be struck with the circumstance, that even John XII., in the one instance where the use of his *distinctly* Papal powers is objected to, is using those powers in the sense of that very tradition, and in behalf of that very prerogative, the maintaining of which was the primary object for which they were given.

For the rest—in order to shew "how comparatively little the general character of the Church was obscured, or its framework destroyed, by the wickedness dominant at Rome," I drew attention first to Fleury's history of those ages.

"I mention Fleury," I said, "because every one knows that (to speak much within bounds) he is a writer who evinces no sort of disposition or inclination to withdraw from notice facts which have a disparaging effect towards the Holy See. It is impossible, within reasonable limits, to give any sufficient idea of what I mean; but let any one see the regular order and course in which Ecclesiastical affairs proceed, the *nurture of Saints, the promotion of holiness*" (p. 115).

This citation you do not think worthy of even mention,

except in a parenthesis; and call it "a general reference to Fleury." If an infidel were to accuse St. Paul of insincerity and ambition, a very far stronger disproof of the charge than any definite producible facts, would be the whole tone, bearing, and scope of his Epistles. But such an unbeliever, if he acted on your principle, might ask, in your own words, "What are the proofs (besides "a general reference to" this man's Epistles) "by which Mr. Ward supports this paradox?" Even if there were *no* others, this would be more than amply sufficient. Of course, a *general* statement is sufficiently met by a *general* answer; and though I cannot think you the most unprejudiced of men where the Catholic religion is concerned, yet if you were to aver that you had read through these chapters of Fleury, and derived from them a different impression, my argument would so far fall to the ground. I wish nothing more than that you, and those who feel with you, would fairly make the experiment; your objections, I am persuaded, could not remain.

My special illustrations of the same thing were, 1st, the fact that St. Dunstan was greatly assisted in his work of ascetic reformation in England by his quality as legate of this very John XII.; 2d, that in the tenth and eleventh centuries we find "as nearly as possible fifty Saints," all "with the unmistakeable marks of that one type of character, which so singularly separates off the Christian Saint from all other men whatever;" and, finally, the account given by an excellent writer of your own communion on the early days of St. Gregory VII. After putting down at length this latter account, which belongs (as I said) to a period when the Church was governed, 1st, by "a profligate Pontiff," and 2d, by one who, after his election, "plunged into every species of debauchery and crime;" I thus summed up the facts:

"After nearly two centuries of distraction, confusion, and frequent vice, in high places at Rome, still one and one only recognised type of the Christian character; one and one only idea of virtue held out to those who wish to pursue it; in the close neighbourhood of Rome itself, satisfactory ecclesiastical education supplied; at Cluni, the monastic system "existing in the fullest perfection;" the emperor so possessed with the true idea of Christianity, as to be deeply affected by zealous and ascetic preaching; Rome finally made the dwelling-place of this

austere and unsparing reformer (St. Gregory VII.), without the very idea crossing a reader's mind of *ecclesiastical censures* being conceivably incurred" (pp. 117, 118).

These facts certainly do not prove that "God's work was not *impeded* by the scandals" at Rome; but I never said they did. They *do* prove the conclusions for which they were adduced, in shewing "how *comparatively* little the *general character* of the Church was obscured, or its *framework destroyed*;" which is a very different thing. Your only notice of them is, that you "leave them to fall by their own weight; for that the most significant of them, so far as they prove any thing, prove the very contrary of" my "thesis." Let the reader judge.

So much on this particular calamity of wicked Popes and Bishops. On the more general question, your objections may be answered with equal facility; or indeed hardly require any other answer, than the distinctly explaining my original assertion. This assertion was twofold (p. 103): 1st, "that the whole idea of the Church's office, as deduced from Scripture and Church History, would be absolutely overthrown and revolutionised by any recognised admission of heretics into religious communion;" and 2d, "that no such result, nor the most distant approach to such a result, follows from the present practice of admitting orthodox believers, even the most immoral, to a participation in every ordinance, except the Sacraments themselves." As was to be expected from your previous course of argument, you do not very materially object to the former of these propositions, but you make the warmest and most earnest opposition possible to the second.

In regard to the former indeed, you say (Sixth Notice), that "remembering that heretics are just as free to attend the worship and observances of the Roman Church as orthodox profligates" you "find some difficulty in understanding the precise force of this argument;" a difficulty however, which I venture to hope that a few words will suffice to remove. No doubt misbelievers of every kind are admitted most freely to attend and witness the public devotions of the Church; and the happiest results frequently flow, from the effect produced on

them by what they hear and see. But let us suppose that a number of men, avowedly not submitting in doctrine to the voice of the Church, were to go on day after day, on system, taking *an active part* in the people's devotions; joining them in their rosaries and hymns; going along with them on the "Via Crucis," or the various pilgrimages of the year; and generally, in ways too numerous to specify, claiming to be their brethren. No one can doubt that in such a case, unless (which is far more probable) the spontaneous piety of the faithful in keeping aloof from such men spared her the necessity, the Church would exercise that power of discipline which all admit she has in reserve, and would forbid the faithful from all such religious intercourse. She would do this for the reasons which I gave (pp. 105-7), and which you excellently sum up; that such intercourse, and such regarding of heterodox men in the light of brethren, "would affect the Church's power of propagating the pure and unadulterated truth; by infusing into her practical teaching a spirit of falsehood too subtle to be always identified with any formal propositions, though in fact springing from them, and therefore capable of being expelled with them." In fact, for the very same reason, as I argued a few pages back, which made such exclusion important in Apostolic times also.

But you proceed to ask, "Is not all this as absolutely true of *vice*?" I answer, in the case of such vicious men as I spoke of, certainly not. Let us proceed then to consider distinctly, in what general state of mind those wicked men are, of whom my language shews that I was speaking in my last Letter. For example (to take an extreme case), no one will suppose that I meant to speak of men, who, even although firm believers, are yet so frightfully irreligious and blasphemous, as to come to church for the mere purpose of openly mocking and deriding the worship going on. This, I need hardly say, would be nowhere tolerated; much less would its toleration be defended: though I suppose indeed its very existence among Catholics has been most rare. But again, in the second place, if we suppose simple hypocrisy in the common sense of the word; if we suppose a man, for his own evil purposes, to make a *show* of religion, and be punctual and diligent in religious observances, this also is not here

under consideration. Such a man would simulate the exemplary discharge of his social, no less than of his religious, duties; and his case has no concern with the use or disuse of discipline, because (as is at once evident) no discipline of any kind could possibly reach it. This also, on the whole (so far at least as Catholics are concerned), must be esteemed a very *rare* phenomenon.

It is more to the purpose to observe, that if men fancy that by zealous and constant ritual observances, they *make up* (as one may say) in the sight of God for moral wickedness; if they think there is no need of curbing their evil passions, and conquering their evil habits, so only they are frequent at Mass, or say their beads, or practise devotion to our Blessed Lady; these men are neither included in the letter nor in the spirit of what I have said. This, though perhaps on first thoughts it may appear strange, on second thoughts will rather appear *obvious*: for it *is* obvious that those who distinctly and explicitly hold such opinions, are distinct and explicit *heretics*; and that those who are more or less unconsciously swayed by such miserable superstition, are precisely to that extent enslaved to an heretical spirit: and no one will say that I have underrated the importance of expelling every kind of *heretical* spirit from the Visible Church. This is evidently the very heresy contemplated by the Holy Ghost, in that passage of Isaias, which you quote as though applicable against *me*. "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices? saith the Lord," &c. It is the very account given by all commentators on Jewish formalism, as it is that given by our Blessed Saviour of the Pharisees at a later period, that they regarded ritual observances as a *compensation* for the absence of moral. In regard to which most odious superstition, I will make three observations, and so dismiss the subject.

1. It is a superstition to whose incursions every form of religion is exposed; but in regard to which, no form of Protestantism can bear the most distant possible approach to the Catholic, in the anxious and elaborate pains taken to guard against it. For every Catholic knows that if he wilfully omits going to confession at Easter, he is in a state of enmity to God: and let him but once go thither, he will have to undergo so accurate an in-

quiry on each one Commandment, as to leave little chance of his not *knowing* what those duties are, without the performance of which he cannot hope for Heaven; whether or no he will *practise* them. No one, not conversant with our books on moral theology, can have the least idea of the pains taken, that each priest, who has faculties for hearing confessions, shall be competently acquainted with the whole circle of man's social duties. 2. In case this superstition were really gaining ground in any part of Christendom, I most readily admit, or rather it is the very principle which I *maintain*, that it is incumbent on the Church to make the most active and vigorous use of her spiritual powers to repress the aggression. But (3.) I must take leave altogether to doubt whether, in point of fact, it *be* otherwise than *most* uncommon, among those evil livers who may be found in frequent attendance at religious exercises. The mere fact indeed that such persons *are* so present, is commonly taken by Protestants as sufficient, without further proof, to shew that this superstition is their motive; a kind of reasoning which will be sufficiently refuted by what I am now going to say.

There remains then the class of men, of whom I *did* intend to speak, and who are very far more common in Catholic countries than Protestants can bring themselves even to imagine. I speak of those who pay a real and sincere homage to sacred things; who have the deepest veneration for the Blessed Saints, and so for the whole idea of Christian sanctity; who fully hope to repent before they die, and live on that hope; but who are entangled in the meshes of sin, and do not, as a matter of fact, exercise that fervent prayer, that constant self-restraint, that anxious watchfulness against occasions, which is necessary for their deliverance. And no doubt at all, if a priest sees such persons as these beginning to unite themselves fervently with the rest of the flock in such exercises as I was above speaking of, so far from wishing (as he would in the case of heretics) to interpose any *check*, he would view it with the utmost sympathy and delight. As I said in my last letter, a heretic seeks religious meetings with a *fanatical* purpose: but if such a Catholic as I describe goes there *at all*, he goes there in a right spirit; there

is nothing to fear from it, and every thing to hope;* his prayers are the very best means to obtain strength for leading a better life; he is brought into the way of hearing sermons and religious addresses; and, I may add, the oftener he is at church, the more painfully he is reminded of his unspeakable loss, in being deprived, by his sins, of participation in the Sacraments.

After this explanation, it is hardly necessary specifically to notice your replies: I will proceed, however, to do so. You ask, "Are not wicked men as skilful and assiduous proselytisers to their vice, as heretics to their error?" In the case of such wicked men as are here in question, evidently the very reverse; and if they were, it is not at the moment of joining in prayer and pious practices, that they would exercise such proselytism with much hope of success. "Have not the prevalence of mal-practices within the Church introduced into the very Confessional a corrupt and degraded casuistry?" Of course every state of things tends indirectly to the encouragement of one misbelief or other. If the modern discipline were more or less the occasion of a corruptly lax doctrine on morality,—a doctrine however which was at once suppressed by the Holy See;—the earlier discipline gave occasion, on the opposite side, to the heretical

* You speak, by the way, of my "extraordinary list of credenda," because (p. 105), while making mention of our blessed Lady, I omit specific mention of her Son. It would have been only common fairness, even if my words of themselves did fairly bear any objectionable construction, to take into account my Letter as a whole; and in page 9 (not to mention several other places) I expressly designate, as worthy of the highest honour, "a temper of personal and fervent love for our Adorable Saviour,"—which surely is explicit enough.

But if you will look with even a little care at the passage you criticise, instead of founding so fearfully grave a charge on a mere first impression, you will see my meaning plainly enough. I am not drawing out any "list of credenda" at all, but contrasting *practice* with *belief* point by point. Thus, 1. "a Catholic may pass years upon years without going to confession;" yet, 1. "he has continued most firmly to *believe* that, unless he repent, eternal ruin will be his portion." 2. "He may pass years upon years without worshipping God;" yet, 2, he believes "that the love of God is the highest of virtues:"—(of course, in the idea of a Catholic's "*love of God*" and "*worshipping God*," is most prominently included his love and worship towards our dearest Saviour; for is He *not* God?) 3. He may go on without "invoking our blessed Lady;" yet, 3, he believes that she "is the unwearied advocate of sinners." 4. He may go on "in the lap of luxury and vice;" yet, 4, he believes "that asceticism and mortification," &c. 5. He may ill treat those "more pious than himself;" yet, 5, he believes "that the humblest Catholics, regular at their duties, are in a far higher," &c. What sort of criticism then is yours?

Novatians and Donatists: far more proud and self-willed misbelievers, and who gave incomparably more trouble to the Church of their day.

There remains to be noticed your observation, that “the toleration of great and impenitent wickedness in any religious Society, exercises a subtle power in lowering the tone of conversation, and the recognised standard of religious practice; and infuses a habit of irreverent, careless, and worldly judgment.” There is no doubt at all that these evils follow in the case of each individual; his standard of religious practice is lowered; his judgment becomes irreverent, careless, and worldly; in exact proportion as he surrenders himself to the influences of general society, or of what all our ascetic writers call “the world.” For this reason, it is one of the very principal duties of a director, to give his penitents the most solemn warning against so surrendering themselves; and to assist them with practical rules for keeping as far aloof from the world as their particular duties allow, and as the particular line of their vocation renders expedient.* Now no one can read ever so cursorily our ascetical books, without seeing what great care is taken for this object. Your observation then has no force even *prima facie* as an argument, except on the assumption that this removal from the worldly spirit would be made more easy, if all grievous sinners were excommunicated; an assumption not merely *untrue*, but almost *unmeaning*. And the more so, because, as I urged in my last Letter (p. 110), such faults as unspirituality of mind, lukewarmness, worldliness, ambition, love of power and distinction, censoriousness, avariciousness, and the like, which are the real source from whence this evil spirit flows, and which so conspicuously draw the mind from a simple and child-like love of God, these would be, even under the most rigid ecclesiastical discipline, as rife among members of the Church as they can be now.

Here then I close my case; having, as I consider, fully vindicated my position against all your assaults: as indeed little

* I mean by this last of course, that there are very great numbers who would suffer very far greater spiritual detriment by their director's attempting to overstrain the bow, than by a wise permission of such amusements and the like as are clear of actual sin.

more was necessary, in order to do so, than simply to state more clearly and explicitly the particulars in which you had misunderstood my meaning. In my former Letter I drew a parallel from the principles of natural religion, which you criticise with some severity. I will gladly withdraw it from the controversy, because my argument has now been explained as clearly as I am able to explain it, and would derive no additional light from a vindication of this analogy; which, on the other hand, might occupy considerable space and attention. I will merely point out, as indications of the answer I should make, that I expressly drew attention to the fact, that according to our doctrine, there is *no invincible ignorance* of the *first principles of morality*: whereas, in the case of *special Christian doctrines*, the case is notoriously the reverse; and the very circumstance of the high and admirable virtues presented in Ken's spotless life, would give us the strongest presumption that his was a case of it. And again, I was supposing the case of *active opposition* to the truth; whereas Ken was practically removed out of the sphere of what we believe the full truth, and was in fact, all through his life, far more energetically opposed to error than to truth. On the other hand, where I speak of "the company and conversation" of the misbeliever being in itself "less corrupting" than that of the orthodox evil-doer, I admit that I fairly lay myself open to your criticism. I did not distinctly express, probably I did not even keep in my mind at the moment with sufficient steadiness, the distinction on which, otherwise, all through my argument I laid the whole stress. Evil-doers, *in the general throng of society*, may be fully as corrupting and contagious as heretics, or indeed very much more so; but it is not when they join their fellow-believers in *religious exercises*, that such corrupting influence can possibly exist.*

* I propose in this note to vindicate the comparison made in my last Letter, between the state of mind evinced in the crimes of John XII. on the one hand, and, on the other hand, in certain tenets held by "the whole mass of ordinary men in modern England." I had said that this consideration was "quite unessential to the course of my reasoning" (p. 109); and if, on reflection, I found reason to retract it, the general line of argument in my former Letter would therefore in no way suffer. In such a case, certainly, I should have great cause to express repentance and shame for having, without sufficient thought, expressed so severe an imputation on the practical effect of Protestantism; yet I humbly trust that, if the cause of truth had seemed to require

V. The discussion between yourself, sir, and me, turns so much more on principles than on details, that the chief stress of the controversy is now terminated. Let us sum up the case, and see where we are.

Christianity, on coming into the world (see Second Letter, pp. 63, 4), was communicated to mankind in general, not as an

it, I should not have shrunk from such an acknowledgment, however humiliating. Nor would the arguments contained in my former Letters have thereby lost any *intrinsic* force they may possess; though the writer's *personal* claims on attention would undoubtedly have been reduced to a lower position, even than that which was theirs before.

I cannot however, on reconsideration, qualify my former statement. It was expressed with the deliberation due to so serious a matter, and with the same deliberation I now repeat it. I must premise however two obvious explanations; one of which at least (to my surprise) has failed spontaneously to suggest itself to your mind.

The first of these explanations you may probably yourself have anticipated. I have alleged that certain tenets held, "speaking on the whole and in the long run," by the whole mass of men in modern England—reserving however certain exceptions, which I specify—imply, "in the way of natural and probable inference," "a heart" far more "blinded by the world and by the devil," and far more "alienated from God," than John XIIth's sins imply. Tenets which are held by a mass of men may prove, with the utmost certainty, the prevalence of a certain deplorable state of mind *in that mass*; but not, of course, in each single person of that mass. There may be several individuals, who have merely caught up, without reflection, modes of thinking and speaking prevalent around them, but which are neither, on the one hand, the natural *result* and *expression*, as it were, of their own character; nor, on the other hand, are in any such sense really appropriated and believed as to produce (what I maintain to be) their natural effect *on* that character. I am far indeed from wishing to deny the existence of such exceptional instances; and the greater their number, the more of course should I be pleased. But I keep to my point: I maintain that the cases where the evil *dispositions* I specified are *not* evinced, are simply those where the evil *tenets* which I specified are not really and influentially held.

My second explanatory remark is, that you have mixed up, in your reply, two things essentially and widely distinct; two things, the confusing of which with each other must be absolutely fatal to all clearness of thought and reasoning on the matter in hand. It is one thing to speak, for instance, of "a heart blinded by the world and the devil," and quite another thing—a thing as different from the former as one thing *can* be from another—to pronounce on the degree in which the individual is personally *to blame* for possessing such a heart.

Test the thing by an extreme case, every one will at once see this. You remember how much has been said, as to the fearful condition of the poor in the crowded manufacturing districts. It is not necessary to inquire whether the picture is or is not overdrawn: at all events, the state of things described is *fully conceivable*, and will therefore serve as an illustration. Let us imagine then the state of those nurtured among such phenomena. From their earliest years never have they heard the name of God, except for purposes of blasphemy; never has there been so much as the attempt to teach them purity and self-restraint; never have they apprehended (so

assemblage of doctrines defined and catalogued once for all; nor, still less, as a collection of sacred books from which every one was to derive his religion; but as the present and practical teaching of a Living Authority. No one in Apostolic times could be a Christian at all, without joining a certain organised Society, from whose governors he was to learn the doctrines of his new

far as human eyes discern) the very elementary ideas, as to duty towards God or the obligations of morality. Their reason, on first awakening, finds them slaves to shameless vice, which they have learned naturally and simply by the way of example. Are not their hearts indeed, in a fearful and (to us) almost inconceivable degree, "blinded by the world and the devil," and "alienated from God?" And yet, when we come to the question of their personal *responsibility*, how different must be our verdict! Without doubting for one moment all that faith may teach, as to the real power possessed by each individual of knowing better,—yet still how comparatively *small* seems their personal guilt, in falling into those miserable abysses of wickedness. Take the case of a child carefully and wisely brought up by pious parents, who both carefully tend him and fervently pray for him; if *he* falls into sins, which, as to their inherent magnitude, are incomparably *less* than those other abominations, yet, "in the way of natural and probable inference," is not his personal guilt incomparably *greater*?

And so again, when a heathen people, who may think perhaps that impurity and cruelty are the most acceptable sacrifices they can offer to the Supreme Being, when these are converted to Christianity, every one would speak of their mere conversion to the true *faith* (apart from the subsequent question how they will act upon it) as a deliverance of them from the empire of Satan. Of course, the grace given in Baptism is one reason for this; but besides, the mere fact that their *ideas* of God and of morality have been revolutionised, is in itself a bringing them far nearer to God. Yet, so far as personal *responsibility* is concerned, their sins as Christians (being committed against so much clearer light) will be far more grievous than those former superstitions in which they had been trained, and which they had never been taught to call in question.

Far indeed then am I from maintaining, that John XIIth's sins are less grievous in the way of *personal responsibility*, than the evil dispositions prevalent among Protestants. The very contrary: in proportion as one thinks with detestation of Protestantism as a religious system or discipline, in that proportion one thinks more leniently as to the *responsibility* of individual Protestants. And on the other hand, that, in the sense I have above explained, Catholics are far more inexcusable if they lead bad lives than any other men whatever, is a very commonplace of Catholic morality; one of the ideas most continually met with in Catholic sermons and books; and one which we Catholics, for our spiritual edification, are bound most carefully to bear in mind.

Having now then made clear my meaning, let me at once proceed to illustrate and vindicate it. I assume that John XII. all through his life sincerely and unfeignedly believed (as he beyond question externally professed) the Catholic Faith: I am not aware of any grounds for doubting this, nor do you yourself apparently doubt it; at all events, it is on that assumption that my remarks were made, as is obvious from my concluding sentence, which you do not quote: "*wherever the light of faith is retained, and the Church's doctrines unfeignedly believed, the mind is saved from those simply grovelling and carnal notions*" (p. 110). On the other

religion. No one could even conceivably be a member of that Society, who doubted the infallible authority of its governors in what they taught as revealed doctrine; and no one, of course, remained a member of that Society, who voluntarily left it: but sins and scandals of various kinds from the first existed, and that to no very limited extent, *within* this same Society.

hand, I accept also, for argument's sake, your own summary of this Pope's crimes: "most brutal and unscrupulous profligacy, sacrilege, simony, blasphemy, incest, disgusting mutilations of his enemies, and murder." On which list however I remarked (p. 109), that "such faults"—I mean the more violent and brutal of them—"were the faults of barbarous times; of times when public opinion had incomparably less force than at present; and when, therefore, if the fear of God were away, there was little else to restrain men from the most flagrant excesses." And I proceeded as follows: "Nor do I deem it any paradox to maintain, that even the worst among such iniquities as you specify, do not, in the way of natural and probable inference, imply a heart nearly so blinded by the world and the devil, and nearly so alienated from God, as does such an absolute ignoring of His claims, and of the supernatural in general, as characterises the very public opinion, and infects (not exceptional profligates alone, but) the whole mass of men in modern England. I mean such a tone of mind as is evinced in those animadversions on the purely contemplative life, which we so frequently hear; or the grave allegation in controversy, as of a serious argument, of the circumstance that Catholicism is less favourable than Protestantism to temporal security, convenience, and comforts; . . . or the regarding almost as Methodistical rant the expressions of burning and passionate love, in which the Saints have ever vented the deep feelings of their hearts towards God"

You maintain that "these views" are so extravagant, that "it is hardly possible to argue with a person who holds them;" I maintain, on the contrary, that they are simply Christian and true: and on this point issue is joined.

To explain my meaning, I will take a case which is not so much as parallel, but from which we may argue with indefinite force *à fortiori*. Let us suppose two classes of men, each of whom has received unspeakable blessings from some great Benefactor, and both of whom have, in their different ways, repaid these blessings with frightful ingratitude. The former class have, in a vast number of the gravest particulars, directly contravened his known wishes; they have been insulting towards himself, and in the mere wantonness of self-will heaped scoffs and ignominies on his name; they have shamelessly outraged that virtue which they knew he, in a very special manner, prized;* they have been bloody, cruel, and remorseless towards those companions whom, as they knew, he tenderly loved. On the other hand, they have never wavered in firmly believing, and in frankly admitting, that such crimes are both most odious and most offensive to their benefactor, and, unless repented, will infallibly, and most justly, draw down on them his righteous and most terrible indignation. They have ever believed and professed, that the highest duty of such as themselves is to love and serve this benefactor; and that those who so act, that those whose life is one holocaust in his service, are in an unspeakably higher and more blessed position than themselves; that sin such as theirs is so terrible an evil, as to require an indefinitely great satisfaction to compensate its enormity. The second class, on the other hand, make it their very profession and boast, that

* I allude here to the sins of impurity which you mention.

Nor was this polity “merely a temporary one, intended to last during the life-time of the Apostles;” rather it was “intended to be commensurate in its duration with Christianity itself.” For this proposition I have brought together, from our controversialists, an amount of proof and illustration in my last Letter (pp. 64-71), to which, until I see a reply attempted,

hardly any direct duties are *owed* to this Being, who has so loaded them with benefits; they make it their very profession and boast, that they lay the whole stress of moral obligation on rendering kindnesses to their companions, who have either done them no service at all, or only done it as the mere instruments and machines of the One Great Benefactor. All expressions of burning and passionate love to Him this class regard as the mere wildness of fanaticism: the love of a citizen to his country they admire; with the passionate devotion of a mother to her child, they sympathise; but when these feelings are directed to Him who alone is worthy of them, they have but expressions of sneering scepticism or cold disapproval. That men should wish to spend their lives in direct communication with, and immediate service of, this Benefactor, they regard (not as being in fact forbidden by Him, for that is quite a different matter; but) as in itself unworthy of a reasonable being; as a thing quite paltry and narrow-minded, in comparison with the *lofty* object, of rearing a reputation among beings of the same puny nature as themselves; or of gaining influence over these latter; or, at the very best, of performing benevolent and kindly actions in their regard. A life of solitary commune with this Being they regard rather as *death* than life. Is it not rather a truism than a “paradox” to assert, that the minds of this latter class are even more “alienated from” this great Benefactor than the minds of the former? In the latter case, the very recognition of His claims has so faded from men’s minds, that those claims cannot so much as be distinctly asserted, without eliciting expressions of hatred or contempt.

As to the “bustling Lady Bountifuls” and “hard-working country parsons,” of whom you make respectful mention, nothing surely is more self-evident, than that even the most devoted *philanthropy* (were such a case possible) would not evince any the slightest tendency of the heart towards *God*, except so far as it should proceed from the motive of duty towards God and in connexion with His will. It is logically *conceivable*, that there may be the most disinterested love for one’s fellow-men, where the love of God is altogether absent; it is found in *practice* that great benevolence *of a certain kind* often so exists: nor is it unnatural that *we*, who *are* those fellow-men, and in whose behalf such actions are exerted, should have our hearts tenderly move towards one who loves us, and view him with a grateful and favourable eye. The real question is, what we should think of these actions and their doers, in proportion as we were to become *saintly* and sensitively jealous for the honour of *God*; above all, how God Himself regards them.

Now I know not how there can well be a more convincing proof, “in the way of natural and probable inference,” that such kindnesses are done, *not* for God’s sake, but from motives of merely human affection, than appears in such habits of mind as that which I specified. That a man’s mental vision, in the very formation of his principles and opinions, is almost exclusively absorbed by earthly and visible objects, is the plainest proof that these are loved for their own sake, and not for the sake of what is *invisible*; and no one can question that it *is* so absorbed, if every thing which exclusively *relates* to the invisible is hated or despised. How can it be said, for ex-

I must content myself with saying, that I am not aware of any *possible* answer.

Accordingly (p. 72), from that day to this, there has always been one, and never more than one, organised Society, which claims to be this one Catholic Church, divinely commissioned to teach and to govern. From this Church, as from the Apostolic, heresy separates on the one hand, and schism on the other: while wickedness, as such, does *not* separate; but, in various

ample, without simple absurdity, that a man loves his brethren mainly on seeing *God* in them, if he regards those as weak and narrow-minded who yearn to see *God* in *Himself*? How can it be said that he regards his duties to his neighbours mainly as means of preparing himself for Heaven, if he thinks contemptuously of that *mode* of existence which, beyond the possibility of question, is the nearest *similitude* to heaven that this life affords? How can it be said that he sincerely believes the object of religion to be principally and paramountly the purifying and sanctifying of the soul, if he tests the claims of rival religions by their effect on "temporal security, conveniences, and comforts?" How can it be for God's sake that he fervently loves his relations and friends, if he regards the very profession of fervent love to God "almost as Methodistical rant?"

The principle I maintain then is simply this: 1st, that if we would save our soul, we must both recognise our duties to God and in a certain consistent degree fulfil them; but 2d, that he who recognises them, even without the slightest attempt at fulfilling them, is at least "not nearly *so* blinded by the world and the devil, or nearly *so* alienated from God," as he whose very perceptions of *duty* have been corrupted and overthrown, and who, even in *principle* as well as in practice, prefers the creature to the Creator. Nor, 3d, can I admit that acts of benevolence, however extensive, founded on merely human and earthly motives, afford us any excuse for mitigating this severe censure.

To prevent possible misconception, it may be better to add two brief observations. I have spoken of the utmost philanthropy as abstractedly *conceivable*, apart from practical reference to the Divine Will; but I must not be supposed to concede that in practice such will ever be the case, in any very high and noble degree: most signally and emphatically the contrary. Those shallow and frivolous tenets which represent benevolence as the sum and substance of virtue, give no such support and encouragement to human nature, as to fit men for that abandoning self-sacrifice which must be at the root of true benevolence; nor (admitting a small number of exceptional instances) is it too much to say on the whole, that where the *profession* is simple benevolence, the *practice* will tend to be disguised selfishness. And indeed if we take even the highest specimens, how can they bear even a moment's comparison with the unwearied labours of Sisters of Charity and Mercy, and the various charitable confraternities of the Church? Nay, let the cholera or some such pestilence burst over the land, what does the boasting philanthropist accomplish, in comparison with even the matter-of-course and routine labours of the unpretending missionary priest?

Still, secondly, I would by no means deny that there *may* be, to a certain extent, real disinterestedness, where the thought of God is absent; and I wish to point out, that Catholic Theology in no way leads us to suppose, that such excellence is necessarily without benefit to its possessor in regard to his future prospects. We may not indeed suppose that such merely human virtue *impetrates* grace, even *de con-*

shapes, exists *within* her. Catholics are *one* in the spiritual government to which they are subjected; one (eminently, unmistakably one) in the *doctrines* which they profess; indefinitely varying from each other in their degrees of goodness or of badness: some Saints of the most exalted perfection, others sinners of the deepest dye. In exact proportion as external pressure was removed, and regenerate human nature left to exhibit its tendency under its new circumstances, in that proportion,

gruo; but, whereas God, at one time or other, visits all mankind with His most free and gratuitous grace, except so far as they on their part interpose a barrier, we may well indulge the hope, that in such a case as the above, where selfishness, the special foe to grace, is in some degree absent, there *may* be no such barrier as to interfere with the workings of God in the soul.

The whole subject is so far removed from the general argument of my Letter, that had I had any idea of originating so lengthened a discussion, I should assuredly have omitted all reference to it; and for the same reason, having now sufficiently vindicated my meaning, I will pass on. Otherwise, were this a fitting occasion, I should much wish to dwell on those habits of thought, which it is hardly too much to call practical Atheism;—that ignoring of God's personal intervention in the affairs of life;—that dealing with Him as an abstraction rather than a living Person;—that impatience of the very allegation of His claims, and of the duties and the love we owe Him;—which have been such fearful companions of Protestantism throughout its course: and of which it may be truly said, that they do more in preventing the progress of Catholicism, than do all other obstacles, moral and intellectual, put together. I am sorry however that you omitted to quote one passage, which would have shewn my anxiety to make all the exceptions and qualifications I found myself able to make: for I expressly said, that the evil tendencies I spoke of have been diminished in extent, "since the 'Evangelical' movement in the last century, and the movement to which you profess adhesion in this" (p. 109).

I have further to explain, that when I observed that "such faults as those to which you draw attention were the faults of barbarous times," I referred to the more brutal and violent of their number. "The vices of Alexander VI., who lived in the golden age of Italian refinement," as you truly observe, were very grievous; I intended no more than that John XIIth's were not in themselves, and considering the circumstances of his time, of a more flagitious character, though at first reading they would seem so.

I will now conclude this long note with observing, that when, in answer to the foregoing observation of mine, you rejoin that, "if violence and licentiousness are to be excused as the vices of barbarism, heresy or unbelief might, on the same principles, be palliated as proper to civilisation," you fall into that confusion of ideas on which I have already remarked. As far as my reasoning is concerned, I might most fully admit, (what on other grounds however does not seem to me certain,) that heresy is a sin to which a state of civilisation is peculiarly exposed. The question is not, in what degree, under particular circumstances, men are *responsible* for falling into such misbelief as that above commented on, but in what degree such misbelief implies "alienation from God," and subjection to the "blinding" influences of "the world and the devil." I shewed above how absolutely and totally distinct are these two questions.

at every period, has the same general picture of moral corruption been presented on the broad surface of the Church. “*No man*,” says St. Cyprian, speaking of contemporary Catholics, “gives heed to the day of the Lord and the anger of God; while the Lord bids us sell, we *buy and heap up*.” Again, he speaks of “priests wanting in religious devotedness, ministers in entireness of faith; ties of marriage formed with unbelievers; *false swearing heard*; men *sundered by unabating quarrels*; numerous *Bishops* taking possession of estates *by fraudulent proceedings*.” “At what time,” says Origen, “are there not in the Church money-changers who need the whip of Jesus?” for there is “a *multitude* of irrational beasts whose wild savageness the sweetness of faith has not been able to tame.” And still more conspicuously, during the whole period which begins with the Nicene Era; when St. Augustine lays it down as a sort of general *principle*, rather than a mere fact, that the wicked ever mix with the good within the Church, “as wicked Judas” with the Eleven; and that the good are even few “in comparison with the greater number of the bad.” That this very same fact then is equally found in the Catholic Church of the present day, so far from being an objection, literally is one further note of divinity added to those numberless notes otherwise existing; one further of those particulars which so demonstrably and overwhelmingly prove the identity of this Church, with the Church bearing the same name of Catholic, in every age up to the Apostolic.

I suppose it is not very probable that you can so mistake what I have hitherto written, as to imagine me to imply that the Catholic Church is *indifferent* to the fearful evil of moral wickedness; or that the abandonment of the particular *form* of discipline which once existed, involves an abandonment of active measures for the promotion of holiness, and a contentment with the mere denunciation of God’s future wrath against sinners. So immeasurably, I had almost said so ludicrously, wide of the truth would be any such supposition, that in fact, as Father Newman has so powerfully shewn (“Difficulties,” Lect. 8), it is quite impossible so much as to understand her every-day exhibition, to reduce her habitual proceedings into consistency and harmony, or even to comprehend their *meaning*, until we have well under-

stood the contrary fact ; the fact, that the care of the individual soul, the rescuing it from Satan, the fortifying it against temptation, the training it in God's fear and love, is that one paramount object, for which she willingly sacrifices (if necessary) any merely secular and temporal advantage, and (far more) all appearance of order, completeness, and outward circumstance. To draw any such inference as I above supposed, would be so fundamentally to mistake my meaning, that you will allow me perhaps, not merely to refer to, but to cite bodily, two passages in my former Letter.

“ It is a plain matter of fact (as I said before), that God has not given to all Christians, whether in the Apostolic, or in any subsequent period, such efficacious grace as shall purify their will, and make them holy. As far as we see, it would have been a great blessing had He done so ; but He has not. So that one cannot say, that in any age the Church has been in such sense holy, as that all who have received her faith, and had access to her Sacraments, have duly profited by them. But in *this* sense she is holy, that she has in every age used her endeavours to stem the ever-flowing flood of evil, and guide securely heavenwards those whose hearts lead them to desire it. In very early ages she did this, as in many other ways, so also by severe rules of fasting and abstinence for all ; and by a severe course of penance, as the condition of restoration to those who had fallen into grievous sin. In modern times, she has altogether abrogated the latter, and very greatly modified the former. Her weapons have been of a different kind, but surely not less efficacious. She has most earnestly recommended frequent Confession and Communion, and commanded it at least once a year. She has devised a powerful machinery for drawing the many towards God : such as, on the one hand, her public missions ; her constant preachings ; her confraternities ; the indulgences, by which she draws her children to various most beautiful devotions ; the chain of holy observances, with which, as with a sort of routine, she binds round the whole of daily life, that in the occupation of earth they may not forget Heaven ; and again, the lives of Saints, which she has provided in such variety and profusion for the edification of the people, and which are so unspeakably impressive on the imagination of uneducated men, and so singularly imbue their mind with true Christian principle : on the other hand, her holy images and pictures, and especially the constant presence of the Crucifix ; the attraction of religious music and ceremonial ;

the sweet devotion to our dearest Lady, which seizes, as by a sort of spell, on the hearts and imaginations of the most careless, ever soliciting them to higher and purer aspirations, and drawing many (almost in spite of themselves) to the thought and worship of her Son. But in no other way has the Church so powerfully and extensively influenced the many, as in that other part of her office, the careful training of the few. To those who are called to an interior and spiritual life, she offers a choice among an indefinite number of religious orders and congregations, according to each man's special character, and the special dealings of God with his soul; or if they be called rather to remain in the world, she offers them, *in* the world, full guidance towards perfection. She has mapped out, as it were, our spiritual nature; and educates a special class of men in the great work of guiding souls, not on any mere random hap-hazard maxims, but on stable and scientific principles; principles, to the formation of which all her past experience has been brought to bear. For those who are destined to the priesthood, and so to a life of celibacy, she has provided seminaries, in which (to pass over all else) no one thing is made the object of so special and singular care, as the preserving their imaginations pure and unsullied. For those who wish to retire for a brief space from the heat and dust of the world, to refresh and invigorate their communion with God, or to decide on their future vocation, or even to consult God's will on some minor matter of duty, she has provided an elaborate and profound system, carried out by priests specially educated for that very purpose, and familiarised with its practical working. From persons so trained to the priesthood, or to the interior life, there radiates, as it were, an atmosphere of holiness through the Church, drawing many to follow the same example, and many more at least to admire it, though they follow it not."

The other passage alluded to is the following:

"And truly, to the broad, straightforward sense of the words, without any evasion or explaining away, I most fully assent and submit. Every one of course will say, that to judge of the fruits of holiness, some certain qualifications are necessary in the critic; some spirituality of mind, and some progress in holiness. Every one also will say, that the value of a religion is tested by its effect on those who act upon it, not those who disregard its lessons. I do then most unhesitatingly maintain, that whether we compare ordinary or extraordinary cases;—whether we compare the lives of those Catholics who are punctual in what the Church calls their 'duties,' Confession and Communion, with

the lives of any other men whatever, who are punctual in the observances which *their* religion prescribes as duties;—or whether we compare the highest patterns of sanctity in the Catholic Church, with those of any other community;—the superiority on our side is so striking and overwhelming, as to be a note of the Church, equalling in cogency any other whatever.”

On which your comment, already quoted, is as follows: This is “a page,” you say, “to shew that the Roman Catholic Church, viewed in certain aspects, does possess the note of sanctity in a degree which proves overwhelmingly the truth of her mission: *a statement which we have never failed to acknowledge*”* (Fourth Notice). I hold most confidently indeed, that there is no one

* This is perhaps as suitable a place as I can find, to notice another of your replies. In one of your original articles (“Anglo-Romanism,” No. V.) you spoke of the facility with which “tyrants, libertines, extortioners, drunkards,” and the like, if kings, were enabled to “occupy a place within the Christian brotherhood,” “subject only to the necessity of finding a lenient confessor;” adding some of the passages quoted by Pascal, to shew how little *this* condition was worth. This quotation from Pascal’s opponents, as I understand it, was given as the probable explanation of what you regarded as a broad fact in history; viz. that these wicked kings were not repelled from the sacraments. I answered, that it *was* indeed a broad fact that they were not *excommunicated*; but that it did not therefore follow with the smallest semblance of probability, that they *approached the sacraments*. I added, giving my reasons for the opinion, “that I was convinced the cases are most extremely rare of such kings,” if unrepentant, “going to communion at all:” “however,” I proceeded, in a passage *which you omit*, “let any such instances as you suppose, be produced *if they can be*,” italicising these latter words. You started, by bringing forward what appeared a very large number of instances in point; viz. all the notoriously wicked kings who were not excommunicated: and I replied, by shewing that *these* were no instances at all, and by asking for some other one instance. You are not able to produce such; nor do you attempt to throw any doubt on my assertion “that (according to the doctrine of the Church) any king who should accept Absolution under such circumstances, would commit one sacrilege in so receiving the Sacrament of Penance; another in receiving the Eucharist; that he would remain under this double sin of sacrilege, until truly repentant, and *when* repentant, would have to make such confession all over again; further, that the priest, conscious of the fact, if he continued, without repenting, to perform his sacred functions, would commit so fearful a number of sacrileges, that one can hardly count them; and, finally, that no Catholic king ever existed, nor probably any Catholic layman of any rank, high or low, who has not been fully aware that such *is* the doctrine of the Church” (pp. 102-3).

But instead of confessing in your own mind that you have here made a (very natural) mistake, by your unacquaintance with the Church’s doctrine on the subject of excommunication, you disguise from yourself this plain fact, by turning off the discussion to a totally different allegation; viz. that our priests too readily believe a professed repentance. And this also you base on no alleged facts of a public and cognisable nature: but partly on one or two propositions, which you admit to have been condemned by the Church, as soon as attention was directed to them; and partly

thing in which the contrast is more striking between the Catholic Church and the Anglican Establishment, than in the provisions respectively made for moral and spiritual discipline. This is not the place to pursue this theme; but one mere allusion to the primary and characteristically Christian force of *purity*, and the assistance given towards its preservation, will open a most pregnant line of thought. I may refer also to an article in the current number of the *Dublin Review*, in which the contrast between the National Universities and Catholic Colleges is very powerfully drawn out. But I had myself occasion to enter in detail upon the whole subject, in a work to which I have already more than once referred, written when I was a Protestant;

on a conversation once held by some private individual with a "loose Breton voiturier." I cannot profess to follow you into a subject so very distantly connected with the main points of our discussion, and so incapable of decision on these vague and random grounds. But if you wish to understand the doctrine practically taught to our priests on such matters (and I think in common candour you *are* bound to acquaint yourself with this), I cannot refer you to a more undeniable authority than St. Alphonsus: first, because his *Moral Theology* has received a more distinct sanction from Rome (as being one lawful to be acted on), than any other work on the subject ever received; and secondly, because those who object to it, object to it ordinarily, as considering it *over-indulgent*. Read then, for instance, his chapter, "quomodo se gerere debeat confessarius cum habituatis et recidivis" (*Praxis Confessariorum*, chap. v.), and I shall indeed be astonished if your present tone continues.

I will add one comment however on your opinion, that the fact of a person falling from his good resolutions after some certain time (say weeks or months),—that this fact shews his original repentance to have been *insincere*. This opinion of yours, to speak plainly, evinces in my judgment an ignorance of some among the simplest facts in human nature so astonishing, as to explain many of your sentiments, which to me otherwise were inexplicable.

Further, I must admit that your remarks have reminded me of one particular in which I expressed myself too generally; and I wish therefore, so far, to retract such expression. I admit at once that *in articulo mortis* Absolution is most readily given upon Confession (or even in extreme necessity without it), for the chance of what it may be worth. Sufficient disposition *may* be in the dying man's soul to render such Absolution efficacious; and how unspeakably awful, if that were so, that Absolution should have been withholden! I need not say that, in a *dying* person, there is no fear of such readiness producing an unfavourable effect on his future conduct.

In conclusion, I have to mention a mistake of yours,—a mistake I should have thought, which the most ordinary carefulness would have prevented. You imply, as I understand you, that I represent it as not even desirable that the Church should endeavour to exclude from the *clerical body* unworthy persons. [Your words are, "it is idle to suppose that in a community which must contain, and which, according to Mr. Ward's view, *should not even endeavour to exclude from itself*, a vast amount of orthodox wickedness, one form of *that wickedness* will not be a practical laxity in the administration of *spiritual discipline*."] Now I say in my Second Letter distinctly and expressly the reverse of this (p. 88).

the sixth chapter of which exactly expresses my meaning. I have only to add, that while, in my comments on *your* Church's system, as having written them from experience, I have nothing to alter or modify; in my account of the *Catholic* discipline, there is here and there a little unreality, such as is perhaps almost inevitable when speaking of a system *external* to one's own experience. I am bound however to add, that my Catholic life has greatly *increased*, not diminished, my sense of the inestimable value of this discipline as a whole.

I hold then most firmly, that the contrast between the two systems, in the particular of moral and spiritual discipline, affords an argument, for the divine character of *ours*, and the merely human of *yours*, which yields in cogency to no other whatever: nay, which probably would have much more influence than any other, with one who might look at the matter in the right spirit; who might devote himself to the task of impartially observing, in this respect, the various religious communities around him, under a deep sense that the salvation of individual souls is the one object, to which every thing on earth ought to converge. But I admit nevertheless, that this is not an argument, which admits of being so sharply and decisively urged in controversy, as some others, nor which will so effectually silence a prejudiced opponent. This is indeed perhaps a characteristic of all such arguments, as are really the deepest, the most comprehensive, the most real, and the most persuasive. At all events, in the present instance there are many reasons which combine to produce this result. Thus, there is no definite degree which admits of being named or specified, below which we can say that, by Divine promise, the Church's zeal in the salvation of souls shall ever sink; and in one age and country Catholic authorities have been incomparably more active and devoted than in another. Again, even where zeal and devotion are at the highest, not only is it impossible to collect into one external view the various particulars which go to make up the practical character of a system; but also individual peculiarities will from time to time come into notice, the real nature of which it will be impossible to explain to those who are external to the workings of such system, and who have not been trained in sympathy with (what we of course

believe to be) the one true type of Christian [excellence. For both which reasons, not to mention others, one cannot expect that persons (even unconsciously) prepossessed against us, will be apt to realise the full force and bearing of the reasoning founded on this class of phenomena, until the way has been prepared for it, by arguments of a more definite, unmistakeable, and (in one sense) *controversial* character.

Of this latter kind is one to which I urgently drew attention in my last Letter, though without expatiating on it at length: the impossibility of so much as *stating* any principles antagonistic to ours, from your point of view. This one consideration ought to have nothing less than *paramount* weight, so far as the question between us is one of reasoning at all. For it is not as though you folded your hands in idleness, and assumed a simply *sceptical* attitude towards all moral and spiritual truth; on the contrary, you are (most honourably) zealous and energetic in behalf of a practical conclusion different from ours. What is the logical *statement* of that practical conclusion? The first step in reasoning is to place in contrast with each other the respective theses contended for. Now, on our side, nothing can be clearer and more precise than our thesis, "even our enemies being judges." Those who (most strangely) complain of us as deficient in *proof*, at least admit that we are abundant in *statement* and in *system*. I ask in return, as a preliminary of the contest, since *we* plainly express the thesis for which we are about to contend, that *you* will do the same; but no answer is forthcoming. If Bishops *e. g.* in the early times did *not* obtain Jurisdiction from the Pope (as *we* allege, and are prepared to prove, that they *did*), from whom do *you* allege that they obtained Jurisdiction? and from whom do you consider that your own bishops now derive it? (Second Letter, p. 20, note; pp. 51-57.) Strange as it may seem, I believe there has never to this day been an *attempt*, on the part of your "high-Churchmen," seriously to answer this question; and I am quite convinced that merely to make such an attempt, would be to expose the logical absurdity of your position, in a degree that must be finally and for ever fatal to it, so far as it professes to be one admitting even one word in its support from either Scripture, Antiquity, or reason.

I have no notice however to take of your replies to me on this head, because you simply decline to argue it. To what extent you are warranted in so declining, is a matter on which hereafter I may have a word to say, but on which I shall here make no comment.

Another argument of this definite and decisive character, that I may return to the general course of my remarks, is the very one on which our controversy first began. This argument rests on the principle, now (I trust) sufficiently established, that the Church is essentially "cœtus fidelium;" an assembly of persons professing the One Catholic Faith. He therefore who confesses, that a certain Society receives permanently within its bosom those who profess tenets which he himself regards as *contrary* to that Faith, is bound also to admit, as part of the same judgment, that such Society is no part of the Catholic Church.

In regard to the Anglican Establishment, I maintained that it falls under this category in two different aspects: inasmuch as it has, first, ever since the Reformation, openly and deliberately acknowledged, as members, great numbers of men professing tenets, which you regard as contrary to the Catholic Faith; and secondly, the tenets so admitted within its pale (apart from the question of what your party *concede* to be heresy), are in themselves so vitally and fundamentally contradictory to each other, as to put all distinctness of teaching, and much more all unity of belief, on the greatest no less than on the least matters of Christian doctrine, absolutely out of the question. In attempting to elucidate this fact, "I absolutely despair," I said, "of doing any sort of justice to the deep feeling—I might almost literally say, *sense*—of the unspeakable divergences, confusions, worldliness, profaneness, shallowness, formalism, arrogance, stupidity, which belong to the religious tenets professed among you; a sense which the five years' experience of doctrinal unity has not a little intensified" (p. 24): a passage which I here repeat, because you cite it without any comment (Second Notice) merely as an "instance of my controversial style." Surely there is no single particular in it, which you would not yourself be ready on occasion to say, against what *you* might regard as an heretical and schismatical body; and that, without

thereby intending any personal discourtesy to individual members of such body.

As to the admission of tenets regarded by *yourself* as heretical, I began with taking the instance of "Baptismal Regeneration," because "the whole stir made by your party" on the Gorham affair "implies the deepest and most unanimous conviction" that its denial *is* a heresy. And I argued at some length, 1, that the public and resolute advocacy of this heresy has existed very widely within your Establishment, in every single period from the Reformation downwards; 2, that this was so, at some periods, to the practical *exclusion* of orthodoxy on the subject; 3, that even when this latter was not the case, still those who were most zealous for the orthodox doctrine never dreamed of treating their opponents *as* heretics; and 4, finally, that the heresy in question, at all times, and by no means least in the present, so far from being confined to the educated, has been most extensively prevalent and most deeply rooted in the minds of your whole *people* (pp. 24-38).

But I referred also to doctrines far more primary even than that of Baptismal Regeneration; and to the language held concerning them, not by Calvinists and low-Churchmen, but by those whom you are continually quoting as "bright stars in your theological firmament" (pp. 46-48). If Jeremy Taylor, Laud, Bramhall, and Hammond, are full of sympathy with Arian, Nestorian, and Eutychian heretics, it is no matter of surprise that Dr. Whately, designated by your own friends as Unitarian in tenets, was "consecrated" Archbishop, without so much as an attempt at protest and hindrance; and the fact that Dr. Hampden should have been opposed *at all*, is the real innovation upon your post-reformation precedents; not that the whole strength of all within your Church, who cared for the primary truths of early Christianity, was brought to bear in opposition to him (pp. 48-50), and was signally overmatched.* Nor again can

* You use the following expression in your Fourth Notice: "Archbishop Whately and the rest, *whom Mr. Ward is so fond of quoting,*" seeming to imply that I lay an exaggerated and unfair stress on mere individual instances. But my argument is founded, *not* chiefly on the opinions put forth by such men, but by the *reception which such opinions meet* in your Establishment; and such facts as those mentioned above, shew most undeniably and conspicuously, that there has been no

we be surprised at the admission of the *Christian Remembrancer* of 1843, couched in the strongest terms, that every heresy condemned by the first four Councils was then taught "in nine pulpits out of ten" among you, "without a murmur, to say nothing of a censure" (p. 51).

Finally, to put in still stronger light the general confusion of doctrine in your body, I charged your members in general with having altogether lost the very elementary idea of true Christian sanctity; insomuch that the Saints who, as Gibbon tells us, "were respected and almost adored" by the Early Church, were they to appear in England, would be received by your people with bitter anger or contemptuous pity (pp. 40, 41). And I alleged moreover, against a form of doctrine very prevalent among you, the charge, that it is in "direct contradiction to the most sacred and primary principles of natural morality and religion" (p. 39).

To all this you have considered it beyond your province to attempt any reply; but in one of your original articles, you professed your intention of "referring to certain points in which the Roman Church has signally failed to guard the purity of her own teaching" ("Anglo-Romanism," No. V.). To these points therefore we are now to direct our attention; as affording the counterstatement on your side, which has to be weighed against the allegation of doctrinal corruption, superstition, heresy, and Apostasy, which I have made against your Establishment.

These "certain points" turn out to be two in number. The first, supported by an appeal to Pascal, is the corruption of casuistical teaching, alleged to have been tolerated within the Church for a very considerable period. To this I answered by adducing a fact of which you were not aware, the authoritative condemnation of that teaching; and you handsomely and liberally say in

general feeling among you, approaching to a deep disapprobation of the heresies in question. That the names are not many in number, of those among you who have expressly and in terms taken the heretical side in these doctrinal controversies, is exactly what might have been expected. Your Establishment has made so great an advance on the heretical road, that your writers in general are hardly more eager on the heretical than on the orthodox side in such matters; and have come rather to look with indifference or contempt on this whole class of subjects. In other words, they have (to speak generally) lost all power of apprehending and valuing the Objective Verities of the Gospel.

reply (First Notice), that "as far as such a thing is possible, you would wish to withdraw the article in which" this first "charge was made," though "without pronouncing to what extent the charge might still be fairly pressed." No more need be said then on *this* "point."*

The remaining "point" ("Anglo-Romanism," No. VII.) was the practical doctrine of Indulgences; which you represented as one which it was hardly possible for an educated member of your Establishment, even if converted to the Faith, ever "heartily and in his conscience" to believe. "They may, no doubt, turn their thoughts another way," you added; "they may refuse to see or entertain the question; they may assume that Rome must be right somehow, and take counsel only of those who agree with them, and will aid them in putting aside inconvenient thoughts; . . . but these are unsafe expedients. A time may come when the difficulties of Rome may be pressed upon them . . . and will they then . . . be able to believe this?" I have quoted this, to shew that you regarded the error in question as no insignificant one, but on the contrary, as a corruption on which a very great deal of weight might reasonably be laid. I answered (declining however to enter into "the general question of Indulgences, and their practical effect on the Christian's religious life"), by shewing that your *argument* on the subject was altogether, and without exception, founded on "one or two, not unnatural, misconceptions" of *fact* "into which you had fallen." No one could possibly on the one hand admit the truth of the statements I proceeded to make, and on the other hand uphold any part of the reasoning con-

* You have added various comments, in this Notice, entirely founded on a misconception of my meaning. I said in my last Letter that I would not be "betrayed into a strong expression of opinion on" the *Provincial Letters*, "without being able to express reasons for such opinion;" and in the note which I appended, I expressly declined arguing the general question raised by them. A person most thoroughly competent to such a task, could not perform it except by writing volumes. I never intended therefore to express *my own opinion*, that in this instance Rome deserved the praise of disregarding human interests where Eternal Truth is concerned; but to make use of your own hypothetical *admission* to that effect. You had yourself said, that if Rome *had* condemned these propositions, it would have been like "plucking out an eye," or "cutting off a right hand." But you now concede that Rome did condemn them; therefore you admit that she *did* adopt conduct so disinterested as to merit the above parallel. This is simply what I meant to say, and what I think even a little attention would have *shewn* you that I meant.

tained in your article to which they referred; the two are mutually contradictory. But in your last reply, you take no notice, direct or indirect, of such of my statements; nor make any further allusion, direct or indirect, to the subject. This therefore also falls to the ground.

It appears therefore, that those objections, which alone you raised against Roman teaching where you were professedly considering it as a whole, have altogether given way; so that literally I should not have a word more to say on *this* part of my subject, were it not that in the earlier part of our controversy, two detached and isolated cases happened (as it were) to turn up, on which you still consider that an attack upon us can be maintained,—that of Liberius, and that of “the Sicilian Monarchy.” In order therefore to make my personal reply complete, I must proceed to re-consider these cases, and so bring this Letter to a conclusion.*

* I must not omit however to notice your rejoinder, in the matter of the Acts of the Seventh Council. The anecdote in question was originally introduced by you merely in a note; though if it proved any thing whatever, it would prove an amount of doctrinal anti-Christianism, which would bear out the fiercest denunciations of the most extreme Protestants. It is part indeed of the most extraordinary view which you have throughout taken of this anecdote, that you cite it for the very *opposite* purpose; for the purpose of illustrating the “mischievousness” of “exaggerating the importance of true doctrine in comparison with right conduct.” Altogether indeed we seem destined to astonish each other; and specially on this head. You “read over the sentence” of mine, which defends the Council, the Saint, and the Abbot, “for the fourth or fifth time, to be quite sure your eyes had not deceived you;” and my own surprise at your reply to the said sentence might be no less forcibly expressed. I will first illustrate the meaning of this anecdote by its own internal evidence; and then by a reference to the various undoubted circumstances of the time and place in which it was recounted. First then to recite, from my former Letter, the anecdote itself; inserting only, for the sake of those who may not have seen them, the words on which the controversy turns. “There was a certain monk, *αγιαστος πανν*, who was in the habit of very severe contests against the temptations of the devil, and was quite wearied out with the unceasing recurrence of these fearful temptations, and the laboriousness of resisting them.” “How long is it to be,” said he one day to the demon of fornication, “how long is it to be before thou wilt spare me? for thou hast followed me to my very old age.” And the demon appeared, and promised to spare him any further attacks, “if he would only take an oath of secrecy, and omit his devotions to the holy image of the Lord and His Mother.” His conscience however, as you continue the anecdote, led him to consult his abbot as to the propriety of observing his pledge; and the reply was, “Hast thou been so deluded (*ενεπαυχθης*) as to swear to the demon? but thou hast done well to tell me this. *Expedit autem tibi potius ut non dimittas in civitate ista lupanar in quod non introeas, quam ut recuses adorare Dominum et*

Previously to proceeding with this task, I have one only final comparison to make, between (what we hold to be) the Catholic Church and your Establishment; and that on the very particular with which my original little paper was almost exclusively occupied, but which has now become so indisputably clear, that the mere mention of it is sufficient. A question which you must consider as one so intimately, so unspeakably, affecting the spiritual and eternal interest of your people, as the question what doctrines they may or may not be taught by your clergy,—this question is decided for you in the last resort by an authority, to *Deum nostrum Jesum Christum, cum propria Matre Sua, in imagine.*" I italicise these last words, to draw attention to your *point*.

You speak of this story, I said (Second Letter, p. 94, note), as though it implied that a wicked monk, plunged in every debauchery, might yet take comfort to himself from the fact that he paid due attention to holy images; whereas the present is the case of one who has undeviatingly and courageously *resisted* temptation. Is it possible that you can think, that the monk would have acted innocently in accepting this compromise? Here is a certain religious habit, conceived by the monk to be the fit expression of reverent adoration to Jesus and Mary; and yet, when the deadly enemy of his Saviour and his Saviour's Mother promises to give him ease or condition of abandoning this habit, he is half disposed to agree. Surely such guilt is frightful; surely any one would say with the Abbot, "rather let temptation do its worst, than purchase respite from my Saviour's enemy on condition of insulting that Saviour."

Your reply is simply that "the compact with Satan is irrelevant." I hardly think there can be another man of sound mind in all Christendom who will not see, that this is not only *not* irrelevant, but is the precise point on which the whole story turns. You speak of the monk omitting this worship, "in order to obtain for himself greater security from positive sin;" as though there were some connexion, in the way of natural cause and effect, between such omission and such security: whereas there would be no sort of "security," nor any thing like it, so obtained, except through the direct instrumentality of this express compact with Satan. I ask you again, as before, "if the Devil were to promise to spare *you* temptation, on condition that you would tread a copy of the Bible under foot, or spit contemptuously upon it," would *you* accept the compact? And if not, would there be common sense or common decency in accusing you, as though you considered a merely external disrespect to a printed volume to be a greater sin than the most aggravated impurity? The case is precisely parallel.

It is not altogether unimportant to observe, that the sentence is not worded generally, but individually: *expedit tibi*. And certainly such considerations as the above absolutely *compel* us to interpret it, "it is expedient for you, *circumstanced as you are*, not to leave, &c." Nor must we imagine, as I observed, "that the abbot expected any such frequent yielding to temptation as a *probable* consequence." This you admit; observing however, which I on my side admit, "that his words are made studiously large enough to meet the most extreme case."

So much on the story considered merely by the light of its own internal evidence. Take it in connexion with the admitted circumstances and current morality of the time, and your interpretation becomes so utterly extravagant as to defy com-

which you not merely can ascribe no gift of *infallibility*, but not even the most ordinary supernatural grace, or the most ordinary natural qualification, specially directed to that end; in fact, by the civil power. With us, no less a personage is entrusted with this most momentous function, than he whom we believe to be under the pledged and most watchful superintendence of the Holy Spirit, for its due and truthful performance.

VI. Now then for the case of Liberius: on which subject I consider you to have advanced reckless statements on your own side, and to have neglected a fair consideration of those adduced on my side, in a degree exceeding even what is to be found in your other Notices. However, let the reader judge for himself.

Your original statement in regard to this Pope (Review of ment. I will not here enlarge on the charge of irreverence towards the holy Sophronius. A writer who disposes so unscrupulously as yourself of the whole united body of Nicene Saints, is not likely to care much for one single Saint of the sixth century. I will only mention, that when I spoke of him as one of the greatest pillars of the Church in the contest against the Monothelite heresy, I did not merely mean what you say, that "he contended against the Monothelites, who were condemned by the Sixth Council;" but that the Sixth Council treated his name with very especial reverence, insomuch that his treatise was actually (I believe) the *only one* methodical refutation of the heretics which was there publicly and solemnly read. But apart from all questions of reverence, "Saints of that period are accused," as I said, "by many moderns of undervaluing other sins, in comparison with those against the sixth (your seventh) commandment; but of *undervaluing* the latter class of sins, never." Yet you have the boldness to maintain that, not in an obscure corner, but in the face of day—not one isolated individual, but a body of bishops solemnly met together, without one voice raised in protest or dissent,—a body of bishops who (as you even point out), having power to do so, did not so much as make image-worship *obligatory* on Catholics,—yet unanimously proclaimed that its omission was more sinful, than was the most abandoned impurity of a consecrated monk. Why even those who at this moment vent their odious and ribald comments on Catholic morality, yet maintain that the evil is done *in secret*. Who, before yourself, ever supposed that such principles were publicly proclaimed?

Even supposing, I say (what has been, I think, quite disproved above), that the anecdote, considered by itself, fairly bore your interpretation, are you at liberty thus to outrage all external and historical probability? For example, have not you yourself, in the course of these very Notices (see p. 42), said expressly, that the command which forbade fornication was one of only a temporary character? Imagine for a moment that I were to fasten upon this unwary statement,—refuse to hear explanation,—shirk the task of comparing such statement with the admitted principles of your party and friends, or with other language even of your own,—and build on it a triumphant inference, that Dr. Pusey's friends advocate disgusting immorality? On that supposition, I should do exactly what *you* have done in regard to St. Sophronius and the Seventh Council. Consider what epithets you would apply to me in that imaginary case, and appropriate them to yourself in the present instance.

First Letter) was, (1) that “it does not appear that he ever renounced communion with the great patron of Arianism, the Emperor Constantius;” and (2) that “he signed a document, &c.” First then for the first accusation. I replied (Second Letter, note to p. 131) that this charge, “so far as I was aware,” “rests on no shadow of foundation;” and that “a sufficient answer to it” is afforded by certain plain historical facts. You still however maintain your position (Third Notice); basing it wholly on the following ground.

“The anti-Pope Felix,” you observe, “has been held to have been Pope and Martyr. One evidence adduced in his favour was a stone coffin, with this inscription on it: ‘Hic jacet corpus Sancti Felicis Papæ et Martyris, qui Constantium hæreticum damnavit.’ But a very considerable Roman Catholic authority considers that the authenticity of this inscription is disproved at once by the fact, that in those days the Church did not condemn princes for heresy. ‘Hanc adversus principes severitatem,’ says Natalis Alexander, ‘non adhuc exercebat Ecclesia, nec pœnas debitas illis irrogabat, ne majus inde scandalum atque damnum oriretur, neve gravis ab ipsis in Catholicos persecutio excitaretur.’ That is to say, while Mr. Ward clamorously asserts that no Pope ever held communion with a single heretical prince or subject (known to be such) for a single day,—a learned writer of the same communion considers the condemnation by the Pope of an Emperor, however heretical, to be a fact so utterly inconsistent with the practice of Constantine’s period, that it at once proves the spuriousness of the monument on which it is asserted.”

Now, on the surface of the thing, there is something unfair and evasive in this reply. Your original allegation against Liberius was worded as though it were intended to found on it an argument, for the existence *in him personally* of an Arianising inclination; so that his (alleged) lapse should appear no merely exceptional act, but the natural crown as it were and result, of his previous tendencies. What then can be more unfair in *spirit*,* even if you thereby vindicated your *literal* accuracy of statement, than to put in as evidence (and as the sole evidence) for this allegation, an act, or rather an omission, which (so far from implying, even with the faintest probability, any leaning whatever to Arius’s tenets,) was an omission, on your own shewing, shared by Liberius in

* I am far from imputing *intentional* unfairness.

common with every single Pope, and every single Bishop, down to that period from the very time of the Apostles?

But, secondly, what an extraordinary interpretation you have given to the words of Natalis Alexander! This writer says that in those days the Church was not in the habit of denouncing Emperors by name as heretics, and (which would be involved in this) requiring the faithful to avoid *e. g.* the ordinary reverential modes of address to them; and from this, you most preposterously infer, that the Church's rulers held *religious communion* with these heretical Emperors. That Natalis Alexander cannot have meant this, (even if the words could possibly be so distorted as to imply it, which few will imagine,) is perfectly certain; for so learned a writer could not have been ignorant, of what the most superficial reader of history so well knows, as the scene between St. Basil and the Emperor Valens. I will recite this scene in the forcible language of Mr. Milman.

“The Emperor mingled with the crowd of undistinguished worshippers; but he was so impressed with the solemnity of the Catholic service, the deep and full chanting of the psalms, the silent adoration of the people, the order and the majesty, by the calm dignity of the Bishop and of his attendant clergy,—which appeared more like the serenity of angels than the busy scene of mortal men,—that, awe-struck and overpowered, he scarcely ventured to approach to make his offering. The clergy stood irresolute, whether they were to receive it *from the infectious hand of an Arian*; Basil at length, while the trembling Emperor leaned for support on an attendant priest, condescended to advance and accept the oblation. But *neither supplication, nor bribes, nor threats*, could induce the Bishop *to admit the sovereign to communion*” (*History of Christianity*, vol. iii. 126).

It is true that Liberius never refused the Holy Eucharist to Constantius; but that was for the simple reason that the latter never asked for it, not having been even baptised until just before his death. But it does so happen (rather surprisingly) that Liberius *had* the opportunity of shewing, in a very marked way, how sinful he considered religious communion with Constantius. For when the Emperor's messenger, having failed in his mission to the Pope, offered up in one of the churches at Rome Constantius' oblations, Liberius severely rebuked the ecclesiastical

officer for having permitted it; and cast out the offering as an unlawful sacrifice.* It has been pointed out by some of our historians, that Liberius here goes even further than St. Basil in the former anecdote; for the latter did accept Valens's oblations, though refusing him the Holy Eucharist.

It is quite plain then that, unfair as your new position on this head is when alleged in justification of your original language, you have utterly failed in defending even this inadequate position itself. But when you proceed to choose this very statement of yours,—this statement, which admits of so singularly ready and complete discomfiture,—as the especial basis, whereon to found your solemn admonition as to the “rashness of my sweeping challenges,” the scene becomes positively grotesque.

So much on the first count of the indictment against Liberius: there remains the second. The passage in my first Letter which gave occasion to this discussion, was as follows:

“I challenge you to produce a single undisputed instance, from the reign of St. Peter to that of Pius IX., where any Pope, under whatever pressure of temporal difficulty, to whatever threats or whatever allurements he might have been exposed, has continued to hold communion with any one, king or subject, who has openly and wilfully maintained, what he or any of his predecessors had pronounced heresy. The continued stress laid by our opponents on particular isolated acts, such as that of Liberius, or the events consequent upon the Fifth Œcumenical Council, very far as these facts are from bearing out their case, shews how impossible they find it to deny this proposition. But if there be no such instance, then it follows that no Catholic has ever been obliged to remain in communion, even for a day, with any heretic . . . known to be such.”

You replied, that Liberius, whom I mentioned, *was* a case in point; for that this Pope, over and above his not renouncing communion with Constantius, (which we have just considered,) “signed a document, as the condition of regaining his see, presented by Arians, and meant to commit him to an Arian sense; and did, by signing it, distinctly admit wilful heretics to his communion.” I rejoined, by arguing (pp. 126-130) that this act

* Athanasius ad Solitarios. See the Saint's *Historical Tracts*, p. 250, Oxford translation.

of Liberius, if it ever took place, was "an act without antecedents or consequents; a naked, isolated, exceptional act, revoked as soon as done" (p. 128); and that "such an act commits to heresy neither individual, nor see, nor church" (p. 127). You neither call in question the truth of the statement, nor the correctness of the doctrine, contained in these passages:* but content yourself with designating it as an after-thought. In reply to this, I may first observe, as I did before (Second Letter, p. 126), that "as I specifically mentioned Liberius, it is clear that his case was in my thoughts, and that I worded my challenge with express reference to it." It is not very probable then, that my mode of defence should be an "after-thought." And the only reason you attempt to adduce for this imputation is weak enough; being wholly founded on my phrase, "even for a day," in the latter part of the above quotation. Why, it is my very argument throughout,—and an argument which you have not attempted to answer,—that such an act as that ascribed to Liberius, would *not* be such as to "oblige a single Catholic to remain in communion even for a day," nor an hour, nor a minute, "with any heretic, known to be such." So far from the original words "even for a day" being *opposed* to my subsequent course of reasoning, they are specially and expressly provided for *in* that reasoning.

It will hardly be credited by any one who has not read your Notices, that on this so obviously unsound and fallacious basis, and on this alone, you have thought fit to found against me the charge, of having "stated what was convenient for my argument, even though it was directly and evidently contrary to truth, on a matter peculiarly within my own knowledge" (Third Notice).

But such a charge as this, whatever else may be thought of it, at least, one would have fancied, must have evinced a knowledge on your part of what *was* "convenient to my argument;" it must have shewn you to be well aware, that I rested my answer to your challenge, not on the *doubtfulness* of the alleged fact, but on its *irrelevancy*. Yet most surprisingly, in your eager-

* "This qualification," you say, "*whether reasonable or not in itself*, is an after-thought."

ness to load me with imputations however contradictory to each other, you have written in other parts of your Notice as though you were not aware of this. I made, at starting, what you call a "sweeping challenge." I defended this against you, I repeat, by arguing at some length, that Liberius's act, even if it took place, was no sort of *objection* to that challenge; and against this argument of mine you have not so much as attempted a word of reply. Whatever comes of the further question, my "challenge" remains amply and completely vindicated. But over and above this, whereas in your review of my First Letter, you seemed to imply (as I observed in my Second Letter, p. 130), "that any doubt on the truth of this fact is the mere wantonness of controversial ingenuity, the mere resolution to question every thing which makes against our cause,"—I thought it not unimportant to point out, that "Liberius's lapse is no very certain or indisputable event." And having mentioned great part of Zaccaria's reasoning, I added, "on which side the arguments as a whole preponderate, I have neither that learning nor that critical power which entitle me to form a judgment."

My readers will have observed then, that this question is in no way bound up with my original "challenge:" I had already vindicated *that*, on grounds wholly distinct, and which you have not attempted to answer. And yet, in your Third Notice, with a degree of carelessness quite unaccountable, you say that I "rashly" indulge in "sweeping challenges," from the vindication of which, "when brought to a point, I do not scruple to shelter myself under my own want of learning and critical power." Those who have attended to what I have above pointed out, will see that there is no syllable of any thing even like the truth in this statement; though it is recklessness, and not deliberate or wilful mis-statement, which I lay to your charge.

I am bound however to say, as to this alleged lapse of Liberius,—though I still retain the consciousness that I have "neither that learning nor that critical power which entitle me to form," on my own authority, a decided judgment,—that the consideration of your arguments has in no degree diminished, and that subsequent reading and thought have in some degree increased, my conviction that this lapse "is at least no very certain or in-

disputable event." Certainly the course of your reasoning is not less infelicitous on this, than on all the other particulars relating to Liberius.

"The mere mention of such a name as the grave and profoundly learned Zaccaria" I considered sufficient to shew that the denial of the Pope's lapse was at least no mere controversial paradox (p. 130); because no one, acquainted with Zaccaria's writings, imputes to him any such general habit of mind, but most particularly the reverse. You reply, that this argument has no weight, because *another* learned Jesuit, Harduin, *did* maintain some astonishing paradoxes; with the amusing relation of which you proceed to enliven a dull subject. It is really difficult to characterise such talk as this; for one cannot call it reasoning. If you were to say that some military exploit, whether wise or no, could have been no very egregious blunder, for that the Duke of Wellington altogether defends it; and if I were to allege, as a sufficient reply, that the Duke of York had been a Field-Marshal and Commander-in-Chief no less than the Duke of Wellington, and that *he* (the Duke of York) often approved military acts which *were* egregious blunders,—you would think me mad. Yet this is precisely your reasoning. Zaccaria cannot be *averse* to paradoxes, because Harduin (who was *also* learned and *also* a Jesuit, but who has no other sort of connexion either with Zaccaria or with the history of Liberius,) greatly inclined to them.

Secondly, you object to me, because, after having admitted my inability to form a decisive judgment "on which side the arguments as a whole preponderate," I added to this (p. 132), that "a person must be bereft of his senses who should refuse to admit that" Zaccaria's "arguments are in themselves strong and cogent." "A person," you reply, "must be very ignorant of the nature and value of evidence, if he ventures to pronounce on the strength or cogency of merely negative or probable arguments, until he has ascertained what is to be said on the other side." A Judge therefore, who, when the case for the prosecution has closed, should say to himself, "I cannot yet decide on which side the arguments preponderate, but certainly here is in itself a strong and cogent chain of circumstantial evidence against the

prisoner;”—such a Judge is “very ignorant of the nature and value of evidence.” Let any lawyer decide.

You object that the adverse conclusion “is accepted without demur by the stanch Ultramontanes, Baronius and Bellarmine; by Tillemont, Bossuet, Fleury, Alban Butler, Neander, Mohler,” and lastly, by Father Newman, in his work on the Arians: and also, that there are strong indications that, before the time of St. Pius V., “the story was believed at Rome itself.” I should make no doubt that it was; and indeed Zaccaria implies as much in a passage which I quoted (pp. 133-4). You deal very unfair measure in this matter.* If some Catholic, to prove *e. g.* the primitiveness of devotion to our blessed Lady, adduces a passage, as from some Father, which was received without question by the whole Church for many centuries, your controversialists reply with a tone of no inconsiderable triumph, sometimes adding a hinted charge of dishonest intention, that later critical researches have disproved the genuineness of such passage. Are *we* to derive no benefit from this favourite “locus theologicus” of your friends, critical research? Or if the critical judgment of Baronius and Bellarmine is considered by you

* As I am on the subject of the fallacies strewed so thickly throughout your Third Notice, I will add a note on one which you introduce in a note: a comment on some supposed inconsistency of my tone in the subject of St. Jerome. First, you say that I “treat disbelief in miracles vouched by St. Jerome, as almost equivalent to disbelief in the Old Testament:” whereas, any one who looks at my words (pp. 41-2) will see, that it is not St. Jerome, but St. Philip Neri, whom I am comparing on the one side, with the Old Testament *and* St. Jerome on the other side. To believe in certain miracles ascribed to St. Philip Neri, is characterised by the *Christian Remembrancer* as “a melancholy chapter in the human mind.” In that case, I reply, to believe in the miracles recounted in the Old Testament, or in those recorded by St. Jerome, is “a melancholy chapter of the human mind;” and the Reviewer’s sentiment will consistently land him, not merely in opposition to the Fourth century, as well as the Nineteenth, but in opposition to the inspired Word of God itself. But further, you say that Zaccaria regards St. Jerome as greatly deficient in critical acumen; and that this is not less disrespectful to the Saint than the Reviewer’s own imputation. On the same principle, to differ decidedly from an opinion of the Duke of Wellington on astronomy or botany, is not less absurdly conceited, than for a civilian confidently to condemn his views on a matter of military conduct. Can it be necessary to point out, that what the Reviewer attributes to a believer in St. Philip’s miracles, is not deficiency in critical skill, but degrading and superstitious views of the Christian Religion? and that between sanctity on the one hand, and degrading superstition on the other, there is the broadest and most irreconcilable contrariety; but between sanctity and great critical deficiency, not the very slightest?

of very little account, because of the small progress made in *their* times by critical science, why is it to be imputed to us as almost an inconsistency, if (with the deepest reverence for them, yet) on matters of mere criticism we demur to their authority?

As to the other names above quoted, so much as this is plain at once; that whereas the ordinary editions of St. Athanasius and others contain distinct mention of Liberius's lapse, every one would take that lapse for granted, who had not been led to make for himself special inquiry, into the genuineness of the passages *making* such mention. Now there is no reason whatever, but quite the reverse, to suppose that Alban Butler, or Neander, or again Father Newman in the year 1833, had ever particularly examined this question at all. Further, Bossuet, Fleury, and Tillemont, (omitting Mohler), were not less biassed in *their* examination on one side, than the authorities to which *we* appeal can be supposed to have been on the other. These authorities (to omit others,) are no less than Zaccaria, Pietro Ballerini, Orsi, and the writer in the Bollandists for the 23d of September; all names of the highest mark in such inquiries.

But secondly, it must not be supposed that the authorities you cite, though they agree in one common conclusion that Liberius did lapse, agree with each other and with you in their view of the testimonies on which such lapse rests. For instance, St. Hilary's often-quoted "anathema tibi, &c., prævaricator Liberi" is regarded by Mohler as of very doubtful authenticity.* And as to the "very letters written by Liberius on occasion of his lapse," and recorded by St. Hilary, on which you lay so prominent a stress,—that two out of these four letters are spurious, is absolutely certain; because *they* ascribe to Liberius an earlier lapse, in contradiction to the most undoubted, patent, and unanimous testimonies of Antiquity: insomuch that I believe there is *not one* of the authorities you mention, who contends for *their* authenticity. From my own knowledge indeed I can assert this, of all except Bossuet and Tillemont. But, as the lamented Palma argues, if only one of them is certainly fictitious, the falsity of the others is no very improbable supposition.†

* Mohler's *Athanase le Grand*, French translation, vol. iii. p. 138, note.

† Palma *Prælectiones Historia Ecclesiastica*, vol. i. p. 265.

There is another discrepancy of very great importance. In reading Baronius's account of Liberius's return to Rome, I was struck with one most important variation from Fleury's. The latter namely mentions, that Liberius was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the Romans; whereas Baronius gives in some detail an account of the most opposite character. On consulting Balzerini (*De Vi ac Ratione Primatus*, p. 301), I find the reason for this. Baronius's account was taken from certain "Acts of St. Eusebius Presbyter;" and Bossuet, in the first edition of his "Defence," gave the same account: but in his second edition the latter prelate candidly confessed, that these Acts were of the smallest authority. Accordingly, that the Pope was received by the people on his return with the greatest joy, is now universally admitted.

But what a shock does such admission inflict on the integrity of the whole story; which now stands as it were isolated and unaccountable. Even prior to this last critical discovery, thoughtful men must have been struck with the difficulty of interweaving it into the general course of events. No fewer than four early writers (see Second Letter, p. 130,) distinctly ascribe Liberius's return to the tumult of the Roman people, and the importunity of the Roman matrons, which Constantius found himself unable to resist. Yet the current story ascribed his return to a cause wholly different, viz. his assent to Constantius's wishes: so that the two cannot be *happily* reconciled by any artifice; and cannot be even *logically and nakedly* reconciled, except by supposing that the lapse, by some strange accident, took place at the very moment, when he was on the point of being restored *without any sacrifice of principle*. Still, as would *then* have appeared, the *subsequent* circumstances *did* seem to bear out the idea of his lapse; for the Romans did just what might have been expected, and turned violently against the object of their former reverence. But *now*, when *this* part of the account is unanimously and for ever exploded, it seems absolutely impossible to insert the controverted story at all into the chain of ecclesiastical events.

In fact, in any attempt to do this (reverting to Zaccaria's arguments) we should have to make the following suppositions.

First (as above), that, by a most extraordinary accident, Liberius's submission took place, at the very moment when he was otherwise on the point of being restored. Secondly, that whereas not one of the Roman people would *enter the church* while Felix the anti-Pope was there, because Felix, although always orthodox himself, yet freely communicated with heretics;—this same Roman people nevertheless received back with enthusiastic delight a Pontiff who had acted like Liberius,—who had tried to purchase his return by abandoning, in some sense, even his own personal profession of orthodoxy, which Felix (I believe) had never done. Thirdly, that great as was the sin of such an act as Liberius's in the eyes of orthodox Churchmen, (insomuch that St. Hilary is represented as pronouncing against him with impassioned solemnity a threefold anathema),—and staunch as Liberius's own orthodoxy most undeniably was from the time of his return,—nevertheless, I will not merely say that he exhibited no penitential demeanour, but that he literally made no public retractation at all. “It is carefully mentioned by historians, how that all who lapsed at Ariminum publicly retracted; but as to Liberius, from whom a retractation would have been far more imperatively necessary, there is nowhere so much as a hint of any such transaction” (Second Letter, p. 131). Fourthly, we have further to suppose, that while Liberius was urging by various arguments the adoption of a lenient course towards these lapsed brethren,—he, who was conscious of having himself committed in the same kind a far more grievous sin than they, yet neither relieved his feelings, nor enforced his arguments, by so much as one regretful allusion to the past. And finally, that Constantius, at a time when it was of the utmost importance to him to obtain the assent of as many bishops as possible to the decrees of Ariminum;—when the adherence of the Roman See would have been (even on your view of history) more inestimably important than that of even many others put together;—and when a Pope was in possession of that See, of whom the Emperor had found by experience that his firmness was by no means proof against persecution and threats;—that Constantius, I say, in such a crisis as this, did not so much as invite him to Ariminum or solicit his suffrage.

Any ordinary reader of history then is perfectly competent to pronounce, that a story involving all these most extraordinary suppositions is in itself highly improbable. Whether the few documents which mention it are so undoubtedly genuine as to defy all attempts at assailing them, *this* is a question on which the critical scholar alone can decide; but so much as this you or I *can* decide, that nothing less than direct evidence of the most demonstrative character is sufficient to support them. In other words, "how far Zaccaria is successful" on the negative side, "or on which side the arguments as a whole preponderate, I have neither that learning nor that critical power which entitle me to form a judgment. But a person must be bereft of his senses who should refuse to admit, that the arguments I have been reciting are in themselves strong and cogent" (Second Letter, pp. 131-2).

VII. If in the matter of Liberius your remarks have *teemed* with fallacies, in that of the "Sicilian Monarchy," which remains to be considered, I have mainly to notice only *one* fallacy; but that one so pervasive of your whole argument, that the exposure of the former is the completest possible reply to the latter. You say that though the King of Sicily "did not claim the right to make creeds or canons," yet "he did claim, by himself or by his delegates, to judge whether in any particular case the doctrines of the Church had been contradicted or no" (Second Notice). This form of expression is ambiguous; and as soon as the ambiguity is pointed out, I really believe that you will yourself admit your statement to be erroneous, in that sense which alone is available to your argument. Your expression may either mean on the one hand, that he claimed to decide whether a tenet, confessedly heterodox, was or was not held by this or that individual; or on the other hand, that he claimed to decide whether some tenet, confessedly held by one of his subjects, was or was not heterodox. In the former sense your statement is true but irrelevant; in the latter, relevant but erroneous. That in the latter sense it *is* erroneous, that the King of Sicily never did claim to decide on the orthodoxy of doctrine, so necessarily follows from the most obvious historical facts, that (as I just now observed) I really believe you do not yourself explicitly maintain it.

First of all, look at the probabilities of the thing from your own admission.

“You bring forward,” I had said, “a fact as parallel” to the disorders of your own Establishment. “What does any one expect? that you will name any local Church, in communion with the Holy See, swarming with persons whom *we* consider heretics, as you admit that the Anglican Establishment swarms with those whom *you* consider such? No one, of course, is so simple as to expect as much as *that*. But your readers, I suppose, may have anticipated that you would bring forward, from some dark and obscure corner of history, some one acknowledged heretic in full communion with some local Church, that Church herself being in communion with Rome, and Rome cognisant of the fact; or some one Pope who might have tolerated some one obscure heresy condemned by some one of his predecessors.”

“It is unquestionable,” you reply, “that the Sicilian case shews nothing of this kind.” (*Second Notice.*)

You admit then as “unquestionable,” that through the whole number of centuries during which this ecclesiastical constitution lasted in Sicily, *not one* instance is producible of any person having been admitted into communion with the Sicilian Church, professing a tenet judged by the Holy See to be heretical. How do you account for this, on the supposition that the King was final and independent judge of orthodoxy? Would you seriously expect us to believe it a mere *accidental coincidence*, that of all the deep and intricate theological questions, which have been ruled, one way or the other, by the Holy See during this great number of centuries, the opinion of each Sicilian Monarch precisely tallied with that of his predecessors, and with that of every Pope? You cannot surely have sufficiently weighed your meaning, before giving expression to it.

But, again, as a matter of *direct* argument. You admit it as an obvious and undeniable truth, that the King believed himself under the obligation of remaining in communion with Rome. This is plain; in that you characterise a certain challenge of mine as the merest trifling, because, when analysed, it appears a challenge “to produce a Church which . . . shall be in communion with Rome, and . . .” yet “not believe it necessary to remain in that communion.” I decline to admit

the force of this criticism: but at least it shews that you regard it as a very elementary and undeniable truth, that Churches in communion with Rome, (and the Sicilian therefore inclusively,) believe it necessary for salvation to remain in that communion. But that the Holy See at least *professes*, and has professed throughout the existence of this Sicilian monarchy, not to receive into its communion those whom it regards as heretics, is denied by no one. By what extraordinary oversight is it then, that you have permitted yourself to assert, that the King of Sicily “would have decided in the last resort on the Gorham case, if it had been brought before him?” when it is perfectly certain, both that he considered communion with Rome as necessary to salvation; and also that Rome professes to refuse communion to those who hold opinions, whether on Baptism or on any other doctrinal subject, which she regards as heterodox? It is abstractedly conceivable indeed, from a Protestant point of view, that this might be *mere* profession; and that practically Rome might have connived at the open maintenance, in Sicily, of doctrines regarded by her as heretical at home: and this is the only statement, in opposition to our doctrine, which *is* abstractedly conceivable. But then this is the very thing which I expressly mentioned, in order to deny it; and of which you admit, that there is “unquestionably” nothing of the kind to be discovered.

Nothing then can possibly be more certain and undeniable, than that (deplorable as were the evils flowing from this ecclesiastical constitution, evils so emphatically and ardently denounced by Baronius,) there was nothing in that constitution which gave the King any power of *doctrinal* decision; nor consequently which tended in any way to obscure the distinctness and purity of dogmatic profession. That blessing of infallible teaching, in matters of faith and morals, was still secured to the Sicilians, in regard to which it has been my object in great part of this and of my former Letter to shew, that where it remains, amidst whatever practical evil, those unspeakably high and precious blessings, which it was one primary object of Apostolical Christianity to impart, remain also; and that where it is lost, as in your Establishment, no amount of individual

earnestness and piety can even approach to supplying the deficiency.*

Before leaving this subject, I am bound to notice two objections you have taken, in connexion with it, to my controversial conduct. In your original article on the Sicilian Monarchy, you expatiated on it at considerable length, as being a signal and complete refutation of my original assertion. My reply then, (as now), in no way turned on details, but professed to shew that your adduced case was wholly and absolutely "nihil ad rem;" and in your Review of such my reply, you expressly declined pursuing the controversy further. I must still think I was warranted in my remark that, by so doing, "you unostentatiously yielded me the victory" (Second Letter, p. 2); and that "the only exceptional instance" which you attempted to adduce against my original statement "was at once withdrawn." You say (Second Notice) that, "if I had chosen," I might "have seen" this assertion "to be untrue." I cannot even now see it to be otherwise than most true.

On the other hand, the following expression—"which a two months' search enabled you to discover," (meant however, I assure you, as an "argument," and not as a "taunt")—"rests," as you observe, "on the unhesitating assumption, that" you "must have received" my "paper the moment it was published, and from that time must have been more or less on the look out for facts to answer it." Such assumption, I fully admit, was wholly unwarrantable. I retract the expression therefore, and have further to state my regret for the hastiness which led to its adoption.

* In the course of your argument on this matter, you mention two further alleged exceptions (besides those already noticed) to the purity of Rome's dogmatic teaching. One is Ranke's observation, that in the time of Leo X. "no one passed at Rome as an accomplished man, who did not entertain heretical opinions about Christianity. At the court, the ordinances of the Catholic Church, and passages of holy writ, were spoken of only in a jesting manner; the mysteries of the faith were despised." On which it suffices to observe, that the question is not whether there be, or be not, grounds for supposing the truth of this statement; but what *profession* of faith candidates *e. g.* for ordination would have made, when formally questioned on the subject.

You further mention Caramuel's promotion to an archbishopric; forgetting that, in your very preceding Notice you had mentioned this fact, as shewing that this divine was *not* considered at Rome to be a heretic. Doubtless we Catholics *are* called upon to contend, and should find no difficulty in doing so, that my tenets publicly professed by Caramuel, known in Rome at the time of his promotion, were in no way heretical.

VIII. Before concluding, I ought not to omit some reference to that, which at first filled no subordinate part in our controversy; your charge against me of deliberate untruth. On this head however, the replies and rejoinders have now gone to such length, that the attempt is hopeless of making my comments on the matter clear, except to one who may be prepared to take the trouble, of going, with painful accuracy, through a variety of detail, in itself utterly uninteresting. But then, if any one *is* willing and prepared to take this amount of trouble, I will most willingly leave my case in his hands without further comment at all: for nothing beyond such careful examination is necessary, in order that the irrelevancy of your last reply may be placed in the clearest possible light.

And further, the keenness of my own interest in the matter is greatly abated, since the courteous expressions contained in your Second Notice; for which I am bound to tender you my best acknowledgments. "Knowing that I have a character for veracity to lose," you "at once and *ex animo*" "withdraw any thing which implies a charge of deliberate and conscious deception:" the sting of the personal controversy of course is extracted, when so satisfactory an acknowledgment is made; and there is the less incitement to pursue the subject. I must take pains however not to make use of your courtesy against yourself, or give my readers to understand that you in any way draw back from the controversial position you had assumed. Far otherwise. You "cannot in any degree qualify your charge of misstatement:" but consider such misstatement to arise from "a disposition to believe what is convenient, or a too obedient memory, or confusion of mind, or over-arguing, or presumption, or a habit of precipitate thought, or an appetite for exaggerated conclusions, or other causes." Your withdrawal "refers exclusively to my moral character, and in no degree to my credibility as a witness; on which head your strong opinion remains unmodified" (Second Notice). You hold that, when I use bad arguments, I "am not without an instinctive consciousness that my arguments will not really hold; and allow myself to be led by this consciousness, either to reassure myself by what may almost be called a bullying tone, or to shroud myself in sophis-

tical ambiguities, irrelevancies, and evasions." It is only fair to you, when recording your courteous expressions on one side, to put also on record on the other side, your very unfavourable judgment of my intellectual character. Still, as I just now observed, to rebut such imputations as the above (so far as they are undeserved) is not a subject for which I am so solicitous, as to be led to take much trouble in the attempt. Such arguments as I bring must go for what they are worth, however great my intellectual faults.

I should be inclined then altogether to drop this particular subject, were it not that I fancy myself to see an opening for some approximation to a good understanding upon it. For there is one consideration, which may possibly account for what is otherwise so unaccountable; for the fact, namely, that my original words and their subsequent defence appeared to *you* so evasive, while your criticism on them seemed to *me* so captious and shallow. I readily admit then, that if I had had the least notion that any one of your party really held, or considered it even as faintly probable, that the Catholic Church, or any living part of it, in early times, held the Emperor's voice to be the ultimate standard of orthodoxy, my original wording *would* have been unfair and evasive. I can most truly assert that the very idea of such a thing never crossed my mind; and even now, when the wording of your Second Notice seems almost too explicit to admit of doubt, I can hardly bring myself to think that you do seriously maintain this; and the less so, as I never heard before of *any one*, be his cast of opinions what they might, who so thought.

Until, indeed, I see some sort of *argument* attempted in behalf of this extraordinary idea, I must content myself with repeating what I have before said (Second Letter, p. 7), that I assume it as a thing "too plain to require proof" that the "early Church would have rejected, with deepest indignation, the principle which I had imputed to the Anglican Establishment." But let such an argument *be* brought forward, I pledge myself beforehand to give it an answer. As to the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer*, it is sufficient to observe again (Second Letter, p. 6), that *he* expressly describes the State's claims as

having been *more* extensive in the later, than in the early age; and that my original challenge, which you have so signally failed to answer, most expressly *includes* those precedents which *he* considers the strongest.

And now, in bringing our long controversy to a close, let me again remonstrate with you on your refusal to state any principles whatever on your own side. You say (Concluding Notice) that you are "a newspaper writer, not a theologian," and cannot therefore "deal with such subjects" as those which I have started. I confess I cannot even apprehend your meaning in this reply. On the Gorham question, for example, it would certainly have been most unreasonable in any one to expect you to discuss the various theological arguments, from Scripture, from Antiquity, from Anglican writers, adduced by the respective parties. But it would have been *the reverse* of unreasonable surely to expect you to state, as you did of course from the first state, *for which principle* you were contending. In like manner with a Presbyterian opponent, you would not indeed *argue* theologically for the Divine institution of the Episcopal office; but you would state boldly and uncompromisingly that such *is* your doctrine. This then is what I desire; that you will not argue, but *state*, the doctrine you hold against us. For instance, on this very matter of Episcopacy,—is the principle, for which you contend, the independent jurisdiction of each ordained Bishop over some certain flock? Or if that be not your principle, then what *is* it? I only ask you to do, in your controversy against Rome, the very thing, which you habitually and of course do in your controversy against "Evangelicals" and Presbyterians. It is a matter of the commonest fairness, which to this day we Catholics have not received from even one of your controversial writers. At least, if there *be* one single exception, and if any writer of your communion will point it out, and will claim as his own such positive statement of principle, I shall be only too delighted to have some definite position wherewith to grapple.

You will say perhaps that such a question as the above is altogether separate from the line of argument on which you have mainly rested; and that I have no right to claim of you the going beyond such line. But, in the first place, this is not alto-

gether the case. In the concluding remarks of your original series on "Anglo-Romanism," which you have quoted at length and again appropriated in your Concluding Notice, we find it stated as an essential part of the reasoning whereon you found your case, that your Establishment is "a body which has never been rightly cut off by any competent authority from the Catholic Church; which has not by any formal act of her own pledged herself to heresy; which imposes no terms of communion which we cannot accept." Now, whereas every single particular in the above description is notoriously denied by every single Christian in communion with Rome, I cannot see what right you have confidently to assert this, without so much as an endeavour to explain your very *meaning*; without giving us the slightest idea, *what* you regard as the "competent authority" for "cutting off" a local Society "from the Catholic Church;" *what* you regard as a "formal act;" *what* you regard as "heresy;" *what* you regard as legitimate "terms of communion."

Nor, on the other hand, can you treat this paragraph of yours as a mere supplemental peroration; it is absolutely *required* as part of your argument. Otherwise, any Presbyterian or Independent in Europe might make use of your whole reasoning, and turn it against yourself. "Do not tell me," he might say, "that Episcopal Societies make up the Church. God no doubt *intended* that the Church should be governed by bishops; just as He *intended* that in faith she should be one, and in holiness 'without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing.' But when, on the one hand, there sprung up such fearful doctrinal dissensions among bishops, and such fearful doctrinal corruptions in great numbers of them;—and when, on the other hand, there appeared those awful moral enormities which you have so powerfully described;—the obligation, whether in presbyter or layman, of obeying such bishops came to a natural end." You could not even profess an answer to this, except by such arguments as you intend to convey, in that paragraph of yours to which I have just referred. We have a right therefore to expect, not only that vague and general *words* be used, but that we should have some means of at least guessing the *sense* of those words.

But in truth, even on what *is* your main course of argument, the argument namely founded on the immorality tolerated within the Catholic Church, you are no less vague and unsatisfactory. I said, in my last Letter (p. 99):

“Make a clear statement, what are the conditions imposed by our blessed Saviour as the tenure on which the Church remains in possession; give proofs of this statement from Scripture; explain how the facts of history and the testimony of the Fathers accord with it. I am quite convinced you cannot do any one of these three things; but if you do, I pledge myself, in that case, to meet you on your new ground.”

As one after another of your Notices appeared, I looked eagerly to see some attempt at least at this essential preliminary for argument; but in vain. Regarding me as a hasty and as an unlearned writer, you fancied that on various matters of mere detail you had caught me tripping; and you applied yourself with much keenness and severity to the criticism of such details, until your readers, and possibly yourself, forgot that you were wholly shirking the real question at issue. May I venture further to say of you, as you do of me (Concluding Notice), that your “consciousness” of having *no* real position led you possibly to “reassure yourself by what may almost be called a bullying tone?” Not indeed that either the overbearing tone or the minute criticism, has effected any result for you which can be a matter of congratulation: for true though it may be that in the course of our controversy the most unscrupulous inaccuracy of statement and citation has been displayed, I think the previous pages shew, that it has not been *on my side*. But as to any *larger* criticism,—any attempt to state any one single broad principle of Theology or of History,—or to give any general interpretation whatever of the broad facts to be met with in Scripture and Antiquity,—you are safe from reply because you are innocent of assertion.

I wish earnestly to press on your notice the unfair, and (if I may use the word) ungenerous, nature of this mode of controversy. It is like shooting at a man in the open field from behind a hedge. Even in the region of physics, it is Dr. Whately’s remark, that “there are unanswerable objections against a plenum, and unanswerable objections against a vacuum; but *one*

or the other must be true." And much more in such matters as these. History will soon indeed be regarded again as an old almanack, if a conclusion is supposed shaken, because there are one or two isolated facts which seem on the surface at variance with it; though I am bound indeed to say, that if there *are* facts thus seemingly at variance with the Catholic conclusions, you have not succeeded in discovering them. But it is the dictate of common sense and common fairness, that our respective conclusions should first be drawn up in a definite and consistent shape, and *then* respectively confronted with historical facts. The moment when this is first fairly done by an Anglican writer, will be an era in controversy. A Catholic is of necessity responsible for the whole wide and well-ascertained range of Catholic doctrine; in your Notices you have made *yourself* responsible for—no one definite tenet whatever.

This has been most remarkably evinced in your singular comment on St. Augustine and the Church of his time. It now appears (see p. 26) that you consider that Church to have deliberately, habitually, and systematically, violated a precept which yet was "binding on every age;" and that the best "*excuse*" which can be made for the said Church, when examined, comes to nothing at all. You consider, further, that a certain passage of Isaias "condemns at once the miserable tone" of St. Augustine's* "sentiments;" by "the depth and meaning which it reveals in that disciplinary precept of St. Paul," which that holy Father regards as of merely temporary obligation. Put such sentiments as these before Dr. Pusey, without telling him the quarter from whence they come; and it cannot be doubted (considering his uniform language of reverence towards the Nicene Church in general and St. Augustine in particular), that he would regard the promulgator of them as not *less* removed from agreement with him, to say the least, than is a "Roman" Catholic. And yet no expression of them, nor hint at them, had previously been given; the greatest sympathy with Dr. Pusey's views had been expressed; these opposite notions had been kept studiously in reserve; until it appeared that they might be found

* You say, "Mr. Ward's sentiments;" but you do not deny that on this point St. Augustine holds the very same.

available, to help you in escaping an argumentative entanglement, and throwing a stone against Rome. Is this a legitimate and straightforward manner of conducting controversy?

I have spoken of "bringing this controversy to a close," because you have expressed so strong a wish to do so; and I shall in no way therefore interpret your "silence" as giving "consent" to my various propositions. I reserve to myself also the same liberty; and shall not feel bound to reply on any strictures which you may possibly think fit to make. But, in fairness to you, one exception to this must be made. The first section of the present Letter introduces new matter into the controversy; and if you are induced to express any criticism on *that* section, I am bound explicitly to notice such criticism, and will not fail to do so.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM GEORGE WARD.

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